SECOND FREE WORLD CONGRESS

FREE WORLD

PRICE OF VICTORY
By Henry A. Wallace

UNITED NATIONS
IN WAR AND PEACE
By Walter Nash

MAKE THE NEW WORLD FREE
By Jan Masaryk

•

The Defense of India
and Free French Africa

•

NORWAY'S SECRET WEAPON

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF HITLER

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MAY 30 1942
WOMAN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
315 46

JUNE, 1942
40c PER ISSUE
CANADA, 50c

The next six months may prove vital to Victory

★ ★ ★

A GIGANTIC offensive against the Axis Powers may soon be under way on more than one front. We are confident that it will be the beginning of the end for the armies of the aggressor. It is well to ask ourselves, therefore, what that end will be.

What is the victory we want? What sort of world can we look forward to in the immediate and distant future? What plans, programs, ideas, and activities today are fashioning that future?

Each month thousands of thinking men and women read FREE WORLD to get the answers to these questions. Hundreds of editors, commentators, statesmen, and educators have declared that FREE WORLD is their most dependable "clearing house of international information."

FREE WORLD reports and interprets the progress we are making toward the *real* victory—a permanent peace.

Special Seven Months' Trial Offer

To introduce FREE WORLD to new readers we offer a seven months' trial subscription for two dollars—which represents a substantial saving over the newsstand price. Take advantage of this introductory offer now.

The Chief Editor of *The New Republic* writes:

"FREE WORLD is edited chiefly by a group of international leaders who are working with the United States and the other United Nations to defeat fascism, both in Europe and throughout the world.

To Americans they bring, through the pages of the magazine, news of how that struggle is going, and reports of the best thinking now being done everywhere by intellectual leaders of the democratic cause.

It is both for the intrinsic value of the magazine and because I want to associate myself with this movement that I have subscribed to FREE WORLD and am reading it every month."

—Bruce Bliven

MAIL THE COUPON TODAY

Pay later if you prefer

MAIL THIS COUPON

FREE WORLD
55 WEST 42ND STREET, DEPT. 1A
NEW YORK CITY.

Send me the next seven issues of FREE WORLD the special introductory price of $2.00.

☐ Payment inclosed.
☐ Bill me later.

Name .....

Street No. .....

City..... *State*.....

FREE WORLD

A Monthly Magazine

devoted to

Democracy and World Affairs

●

VOLUME III, No. 1 **JUNE, 1942**

The Time Is Now . . . . . *Stanley Young* 4
Editorial 5
Drawing . . . . . *Alfred Gordon Draper* 8
Second Free World Congress
The Price of Free World Victory . . . *Henry A. Wallace* 9
United Nations in War and Peace . . . . . *Walter Nash* 14
Make the New World Free . . . . . *Jan Masaryk* 17
A World Confederation . . . . . *Li Yu Ying* 19
In the Forefront of the Battle . . . . . *Louis Dolivet* 20
Free World at Work . . . . . *J. Alvarez del Vayo* 22
The Defense of India . . . . . *H. G. Quaritch Wales* 27
Drawing . . . . . *Victor de Pauw* 30
The Psychopathology of Adolf Hitler . . *Raymond de Saussure* 31
Reinhard Heydrich—The Hangman of Europe . *Henry Michaelis* 36
Appeal to the Living . . . . . *Carl Zuckmayer* 40
Toward a New European Economy . . . . . *Bernard Batt* 42
Economic Reconstruction of China . . . . . *Wousaofong* 46
Norway's Secret Weapon . . . . . *Katherine Lyon* 49
Popular Feeling in Great Britain . . . . . *H. Bisham-Holmes* 53
Pan-Americanism at the Crossroads . . . . *Enrique S. de Lozada* 57
La Hispanidad in Hitler's Service . . . . . *Ovidio Gondi* 61
South America and the United Nations . . . . . *Philip Carr* 66
Ruining Denmark . . . . . *Gunnar Leistikow* 70
Central European Problem . . . . . *Julius Deutsch* 74
Power in International Government . *Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer* 78
World Order and Cultural Diversity . . . . *Lawrence K. Frank* 83
Defender of Free French Africa . . . . . *Fritz Kaufmann* 87
Books 91

Drawings by Ascold, B. F. Dolbin, Alfred Gordon Draper, Victor de Pauw, Tom.

FREE WORLD is owned and published monthly by FREE WORLD, Inc., 55 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. Clark M. Eichelberger, Freda Kirchwey, S. M. Cleja, J. Wm. Terry, Directors. Li Yu Ying, Chairman; J. Alvarez del Vayo, Vice-Chairman; Wousaofong, Secretary-Treasurer. Domestic subscriptions $4.00 yearly, Canadian subscription $1.00 additional; foreign subscription $2.00 additional. Single copy price in U.S.A. $.40. Copyright, 1941, by FREE WORLD, Inc. All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Convention. Reproduction in whole or in part prohibited. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. FREE WORLD is printed by Charles Francis Press, Inc., New York City. Entered as second class matter September 17, 1941, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

116714

INTERNATIONAL

MIGUEL O. DE ALMEIDA	*Professor of Physiology, Institute of Manguinhos, Brazil.*
MAX ASCOLI	*Dean, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research.*
HENRY A. ATKINSON	*General Secretary, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.*
PHILIP J. NOEL BAKER	*Member of British Parliament, Author.*
DOROTHY J. BELLANCA	*Vice-President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.*
ROBERT BENDINER	*Editor and Journalist.*
EDUARD BENEŠ	*President of the Czechoslovak Republic.*
G. A. BORGESE	*Professor of Italian Literature, University of Chicago.*
CLAUDE G. BOWERS	*United States Ambassador to Chile.*
ESTHER C. BRUNAUER	*Associate in Education, American Association of University Women.*
BALDOMERO SANIN CANO	*Rector of the University of Cauca.*
GEN. LAZARO CARDENAS	*Former President of Mexico.*
F. J. VAN CAUWELAERT	*President of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies.*
VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD	*Nobel Peace Prize, 1937; Co-President, International Peace Campaign.*
BEN M. CHERRINGTON	*Director, Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences, University of Denver.*
MME. CHIANG KAI-SHEK 蔣宋美齡	
JOHN B. CONDLIFFE	*Professor of Economics, University of California.*
MERCER COOK	*Professor at Atlanta University.*
PERCY E. CORBETT	*Gale Professor of Roman Law, McGill University, Montreal.*
DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE	*Consulting Engineer and Economist.*
J. W. DAFOE	*President and Editor,* WINNIPEG FREE PRESS.
JONATHAN DANIELS	*Editor of* THE NEWS AND OBSERVER, *Raleigh, North Carolina.*
TARAKNATH DAS	*Author; Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations at the College of the City of New York.*
CHARLES A. DAVILA	*Former Minister of Roumania to the United States.*
JULIUS DEUTSCH	*Former Minister of War of the Austrian Republic.*
PAULO DUARTE	*Brazilian Journalist.*
STEPHEN DUGGAN	*Director of the Institute of International Education.*
ALBERT EINSTEIN	*Member of Faculty, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.*
H. V. EVATT	*Minister for External Affairs of Australia.*
MORDECAI EZEKIEL	*Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture.*
CHARLES G. FENWICK	*Member of the Inter-American Juridical Commission.*
HENRI FOCILLON	*Professor, Collège de France (Paris), Yale University.*
HON. ADELARD GODBOUT	*Prime Minister of the Province of Quebec.*
FRANK P. GRAHAM	*President of the University of North Carolina.*
HAROLD K. GUINZBURG	*Publisher.*
JOHN GUNTHER	*Writer, Foreign Correspondent and Radio Analyst.*
MRS. J. B. HARRIMAN	*Former United States Minister to Norway.*
OLAV HINDAHL	*Minister of Labor of Norway.*
BERNARDO IBAÑEZ	*Secretary-General, Confederation of Workers of Chile.*
HON. HAROLD L. ICKES	*Secretary of the Interior.*
F. CYRIL JAMES	*Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University.*
COUNT MICHEL KAROLYI	*Former Prime Minister of Hungary.*
HENRIK DE KAUFFMANN	*Minister of Denmark to the United States.*

INTERNATIONAL

SIR NORMAN ANGELL	*Nobel Peace Prize, 1933; Author and Lecturer.*
H. FERNÁNDEZ ARTUCIO	*Professor of Philosophy, University of Montevideo.*
GEORGE BACKER	*Publisher of* THE NEW YORK POST.
HENRI BONNET	*Director of the International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.*
PIERRE COT	*Former Minister of the French Republic*
LOUIS DOLIVET	*Secretary-General, Free World Association.*
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER	*Chariman, Citizens for Victory; Director, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.*
FREDA KIRCHWEY	*Editor of* THE NATION.
LOUIS LIPSKY	*Writer and Publicist.*
CHIH MENG 孟治	*Director of the China Institute in America.*
WALTER MILLIS	*Editorial Writer of* THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE.

Honorary Board

HON. DOROTHY KENYON	*Counsellor at Law.*
PIERRE KRIER	*Minister of Labor of Luxemburg.*
GUILLERMO LABARCA	*Professor, University of Santiago, Chile.*
FIORELLO H. LaGUARDIA	*Mayor of New York City.*
HENRI LAUGIER	*Former Director of the Institute of Scientific Research France; Professor at the University of Montreal.*
FRANCISCO PEREZ LEIROS	*Vice-President, Latin-American Confederation of Workers.*
MAX LERNER	*Professor of Political Science, Williams College.*
EUSTACHE LETELLIER DE ST. JUST	*Chief Editor of* LE CANADA.
LIN YUTANG	*Author, Formerly Professor at University of Peiping.*
LI YU YING 李石曾	*President of the National Chinese Academy, Peiping.*
ENRIQUE S. DE LOZADA	*Bolivian International Authority; Professor, Williams College.*
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH	*Director of the Office of Facts and Figures; Librarian of Congress.*
THOMAS MANN	*Author; Nobel Prize for Literature, 1929.*
J. D. G. MEDLEY	*Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, Australia.*
EDOUARD MONTPETIT	*Director of the School for Social, Economic and Political Science; Secretary-General of the University of Montreal.*
GUNNAR MYRDAL	*Professor of Economics, University of Stockholm.*
REINHOLD NIEBUHR	*Chairman of the Union for Democratic Action.*
FERNANDO ORTIZ	*Editor of* REVISTA BIMESTRE CUBANA *and of* ULTRA (*Havana*)
A. OSSORIO Y GALLARDO	*Former Ambassador of the Spanish Republic to Argentina.*
ISABEL DE PALENCIA	*Former Minister of the Spanish Republic to Sweden.*
RALPH BARTON PERRY	*Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.*
STOYAN PRIBICHEVICH	*Author.*
SYNGMAN RHEE	*First President of the Provisional Government of the Korean Republic.*
PAUL RIVET	*Director of the Museum of Natural Science of Paris; Professor at the University of Bogota.*
GAETANO SALVEMINI	*Lecturer, Harvard University.*
F. R. SCOTT	*Professor of Civil Law, McGill University, Montreal.*
COUNT CARLO SFORZA	*Senator; Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy.*
JAMES T. SHOTWELL	*Professor, Columbia University.*
T. V. SOONG 宋子文	*Former Minister of Finance of the Chinese Republic.*
JAN STANCZYK	*Minister of Labor and of Social Welfare of Poland, Secretary-General of Polish Mine Workers.*
CLARENCE K. STREIT	*Chairman of Federal Union; Author of "Union Now."*
RAYMOND GRAM SWING	*Writer and Radio Analyst.*
ALBERTO TARCHIANI	*Former Editor,* CORRIERE DELLA SERA; *Secretary-General* MAZZINI SOCIETY, *New York.*
DOROTHY THOMPSON	*Columnist.*
RUSTEM VAMBERY	*Former Professor of Criminology, University of Budapest.*
EDUARDO VILLASENOR	*General Director of* BANCO DE MEXICO.
BASIL VLAVIANOS	*Publisher and Editor of the* NATIONAL HERALD.
LUCIEN VOGEL	*Former Publisher and Editor of* LU *and of* VU, *Paris.*
WILLIAM W. WAYMACK	*Vice-President, Editor* DES MOINES REGISTER AND TRIBUNE.
MARY E. WOOLLEY	*President Emeritus of Mount Holyoke College.*
QUINCY WRIGHT	*Professor of International Law, University of Chicago.*

Editorial Board

EDGAR A. MOWRER	*Correspondent,* CHICAGO DAILY NEWS; *Winner of Pulitzer Prize for reporting, 1933.*
ANATOL MUHLSTEIN	*Former Minister at the Polish Embassy in France.*
CARLO A PRATO	*Former Editor,* JOURNAL DES NATIONS; *former foreign correspondent,* THE NEW YORK TIMES.
MILOS SAFRANEK	*Former Chief of Press Service, Czechoslovak Legation, Paris; former Counselor, Czechoslovak Foreign Office.*
MICHAEL STRAIGHT	*Washington Editor* THE NEW REPUBLIC.
J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO	*Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic.*
BASIL VLAVIANOS	*Publisher and Editor of the* NATIONAL HERALD.
ROBERT J. WATT	*International Representative, American Federation of Labor.*
WOUSAOFONG 吳紹曾	*Former Member of the Political Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.*

THE TIME IS NOW

The time is now, my brothers.
The vast human event draws
Nearer the castle. Within, the silence
Thickens, and the idle children
Watch with fretful surprise
The tumble of the fondled toys.

Outside, the future waits
Like a sleeping princess for
The strong kiss of legend.
Man, cravened by loneliness,
Circles the monstrous towers
Protesting his small shadow.

In the fields below
The dead wait, too,
The mockery of ruin upon them
Their bones locked in thoughts
Beyond their dying.
They, also, are said to be alone.

This is the fiction of history.

Brother, it is not a far journey
To the man who is like you.
Greet him at the first corner who knows
The moon cannot be comfortable again,
No, nor by love tenderly observed, until
The light sheds down upon a common ground.

I have seen this wish written
Not in the skies but in
The drawn eyes of men.

The time is now.

STANLEY YOUNG

EDITORIAL

SOME of the speeches and declarations made during this war will go down in history as significant contributions toward victory and freedom. One of the most important of these is the speech which Vice-President Wallace made at the dinner that closed the second Free World Congress held by the Free World Association. The repercussions of this speech can hardly be overestimated. It has awakened in this country and abroad a new interest and a spontaneous enthusiasm for the cause and the objectives of the United Nations. Mr. Wallace gave the answer to a thousand questions about the future, questions that have troubled the friends of democracy since the beginning of this war.

If we were to give the theme of this speech, we should characterize it as a call to democratic unity. For it contains the program which can unite the peoples of the world in the task of winning the war and winning the peace. It is not a false unity of compromise and appeasement that Mr. Wallace held up to his listeners; it is the militant alliance of all those who are ready to risk their lives for the triumph of democracy.

It is revealing that while the great gathering at the dinner gave every evidence of their appreciation of the Vice-President's vision and courage, and while the response of the millions of listeners of the radio audience indicated that they, too, had grasped the momentous significance of his statement, the reporters of New York newspapers and of the national press associations—with one notable exception—missed the essential point of the speech and its far-reaching implications. Instead, the reporters seized upon the more sensational, though incidental, reference to the possibility of a Japanese invasion of Alaska. This oversight on the part of the reporters was not due to incompetence; it was due primarily to the emphasis which the press of America has placed on the immediate military aspect of the war, an emphasis that has virtually excluded consideration of political warfare.

But the more thoughtful commentators of press and radio immediately recognized the historic importance of the Vice-President's striking statement. They saw it as a declaration of the meaning of this war; they saw it as the most important attack of Allied political warfare—the means, and perhaps the only means, whereby the Axis Powers will be ultimately and

conclusively defeated. Like Ralph Ingersoll in *PM,* Miss Freda Kirchwey, Miss Dorothy Thompson, Raymond Clapper, George Fielding Eliot, Raymond Gram Swing, Johannes Steele, and many others called the address to the attention of their readers and listeners and used it to rally public opinion behind the idealistic and revolutionary war aims enunciated by Mr. Wallace.

In the days that followed, C.B.S. and the headquarters of the Free World Association received thousands of letters and telephone calls requesting the full text of the speech; belated editorials in the newspapers throughout the country again commented on it; an important industrial firm paid for a full page in a Washington newspaper in order to bring it to the attention of the "capital of the democratic world." Abroad, approval of the Vice-President's statement has been equally enthusiastic. Information has already reached us from South America and China concerning the appreciation with which the Vice-President's disavowal of American domination and his recognition of "a people's revolution" has been received. We are confident that later reports from underground sources in Europe will indicate a similar reception there. It will have the effect of many divisions.

The reasons for this popular response are simple and obvious. The peoples of the world are really fighting this war, not merely for their national independence and security, but for the immemorial ideals of mankind, for freedom, decency, and justice. They are revolting against that throw-back in history which is the barbarism and lust for power of the Axis Nations. They have taken up arms for the defense of their rights as individuals and for the conquest of new rights as members of a universal brotherhood. They deeply believe that we are fighting, in the Vice-President's felicitous phrase, "a people's revolution."

In calling attention to the error in emphasis displayed by the press we do not underestimate the importance of military action. On the contrary, our greatest fear is that complacency and over-optimism may delay the military measures we believe to be necessary to save us from defeat. Especially now, when the correspondents who have just returned from their internment in Germany and Italy have brought us encouraging news about adverse conditions in the Axis Nations, must we guard against the temptation to mark time while the Axis Powers collapse. These reports of the discontent of the civilian population in Germany and Italy merely corroborate what our readers have learned from our underground sources; they do not justify undue optimism about the immediate collapse of the German Army and the overthrow of the fascist leaders, who still exercise the fullest control over their people and who give every indication of having determined to play their desperate game to the bitter end.

We must stress again that the present situation demands immediate mili-

tary action in connection with incessant and co-ordinated political warfare. The developing nazi offensive on the Russian front calls for an Allied offensive in Western Europe—not a "second front" but potential second, third, and fourth fronts. Hitler must not be permitted to withdraw his forces for an all-out blow at the resisting Soviet armies. He must fear the possibility of invasion at a half-dozen points on his extensive coastline, from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. He must be harassed by the news that greater and greater contingents of American forces are landing in Ireland, in England, and in the Near East. He must begin to recognize that the initiative has passed into the hands of the United Nations. It will not matter if these invasion attempts are temporary and sporadic. Everyone realizes that prolonged maintenance of Allied troops on the European continent may not be possible during 1942. But if these attempts succeed in drawing off significant bodies of German troops from the Russian front, the subsequent withdrawal of the invading forces will not be considered as a defeat but as a splendid strategic move on the part of the Democracies which will have achieved their goal and contributed to ultimate victory.

At the same time it is necessary to recognize that the serious situation in the Far East equally demands "all-out" action, although of a different type. Latest reports seem to indicate that the Japanese offensive this summer will be directed chiefly against China in the hope of striking a knockout blow there before attempting an invasion of India or Australia. If Japan is permitted to do so, it will assure the success of her other objectives. Or, as T. F. Tsiang, the spokesman of the Chungking Government, put it, "China needs all the help our friends can send us, and they must send us that help with the utmost haste or the United Nations may have to pay a double or triple price for future recovery."

But the aid China needs does not involve man power. The Chinese people have for five years fought with inadequate means to keep the invader from consolidating his victory and are willing and able to carry on the struggle. But they need arms—most particularly, and almost to the exclusion of all else, they need air power. This help the United States alone can give. In fulfilling competing demands, the inclination has been to supply the more highly organized military forces. Those who allocate the precious planes we are producing have been inclined to underestimate the importance of providing the peoples' armies with the power of resistance and have not recognized that more than military factors must determine their actions. For the workers of America will respond to the appeal for aid by the inspired defenders of China with the utmost efforts in production. They will do so in the realization that in China an important phase of America's battle with Japan is being fought and that the soldiers on the fields of China are taking their full part in the people's revolution.

The Nine Freedoms

THE PRICE OF FREE WORLD VICTORY

BY

HENRY A. WALLACE

WE, who in a formal or an informal way represent most of the free peoples of the world, are met here tonight in the interests of the millions in all the nations who have freedom in their souls. To my mind this meeting has just one purpose—to let those millions in other countries know that here in the United States are 130 million men, women, and children who are in this war to the finish. Our American people are utterly resolved to go on until they can strike the relentless blows that will assure a complete victory and with it win a new day for the lovers of freedom everywhere on this earth.

This is a fight between a slave world and a free world. Just as the United States in 1862 could not remain half slave and half free, so in 1942 the world must make its decision for a complete victory one way or the other.

As we begin the final stages of this fight to the death between the free world and the slave world, it is worth while to refresh our minds about the march of freedom for the common man. The idea of freedom—the freedom that we in the United States know and love so well—is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity.

The prophets of the Old Testament were the first to preach social justice. But that which was sensed by the prophets many centuries before Christ was not given complete and powerful political expression until our nation was formed as a Federal Union a century and a half ago. Even then, the march of the common people had just begun. Most of them did not yet know how to read and write. There were no public schools to which all children could go. Men and women cannot be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over. Down the years, the people of the United States have moved steadily forward in the practice of democracy. Through universal education, they now can read and write and form opinions of their own. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of production—that is, how to make a living. They have learned, and are still learning, the art of self-government.

If we were to measure freedom by standards of nutrition, education, and self-government, we might rank the United States and certain nations of Western Europe very high. But this would not be fair to other nations where education has become widespread only in the last twenty years. In many nations, a generation ago, nine out of ten of the people could not read or write. Russia, for example, was changed from an illiterate to a literate nation within one generation and, in the process, Russia's appreciation of freedom was enormously enhanced. In China, the increase during the past thirty years in the ability of the people to read and write has been matched by their increased interest in real liberty.

Everywhere, reading and writing are accompanied by industrial progress, and industrial

progress sooner or later inevitably brings a strong labor movement. From a long-time and fundamental point of view, there are no backward peoples which are lacking in mechanical sense. Russians, Chinese, and the Indians both of India and the Americas all learn to read and write and operate machines just as well as your children and my children. Everywhere the common people are on the march. These people are learning to think and work together in labor movements, some of which may be extreme or impractical at first, but which eventually will settle down to serve effectively the interests of the common man.

When the freedom-loving people march—when the farmers have an opportunity to buy land at reasonable prices and to sell the produce of their land through their own organizations, when workers have the opportunity to form unions and bargain through them collectively, and when the children of all the people have an opportunity to attend schools which teach them truths of the real world in which they live—when these opportunities are open to everyone, then the world moves straight ahead.

But in countries where the ability to read and write has been recently acquired or where the people have had no long experience in governing themselves on the basis of their own thinking, it is easy for demagogues to arise and prostitute the mind of the common man to their own base ends. Such a demagogue may get financial help from some person of wealth who is unaware of what the end result will be. With this backing, the demagogue may dominate the minds of the people, and, from whatever degree of freedom they have, lead them backward into slavery. Herr Thyssen, the wealthy German steel man, little realized what he was doing when he gave Hitler enough money to enable him to play on the minds of the German people. The demagogue is the curse of the modern world; and of all the demagogues, the worst are those financed by well-meaning wealthy men who sincerely believe that their wealth is likely to be safer if they can hire men with political "it" to change the sign posts and lure the people back into slavery of the most degraded kind. Unfortunately for the wealthy men who finance movements of this sort, as well as for the people themselves, the successful demagogue is a powerful genie who, when once let out of his bottle, refuses to obey anyone's command. As long as his spell holds, he defies God Himself, and Satan is turned loose upon the world.

Through the leaders of the nazi revolution, Satan now is trying to lead the common man of the whole world back into slavery and darkness. For the stark truth is that the violence preached by the Nazis is the devil's own religion of darkness. So also is the doctrine that one race or one class is by heredity superior and that all other races or classes are supposed to be slaves. The belief in one Satan-inspired Fuehrer, with his Quislings, his Lavals, and his Mussolinis—his *gauleiters* in every nation in the world—is the last and ultimate darkness. Is there any hell hotter than that of being a Quisling, unless it is that of being a Laval or a Mussolini?

In a twisted sense, there is something almost great in the figure of the Supreme Devil operating through a human form, in a Hitler who has the daring to spit straight into the eye of God and man. But the nazi system has a heroic position for only one leader. By definition only one person is allowed to retain full sovereignty over his own soul. All the rest are "stooges"—they are "stooges" who have been mentally and politically degraded, and who feel that they can get square with the

world only by mentally and politically degrading other people. These "stooges" are really psychopathic cases. Satan has turned loose upon us the insane.

II

THE march of freedom of the past one hundred and fifty years has been a long-drawn-out people's revolution. In this great revolution of the people, there were the American revolution of 1775, the French revolution of 1792, the Latin American revolutions of the Bolivarian era, the German revolution of 1848, and the Russian revolution of 1917. Each spoke for the common man in terms of blood on the battlefield. Some went to excess. But the significant thing is that the people groped their way to the light. More of them learned to think and work together.

The people's revolution aims at peace and not at violence, but if the rights of the common man are attacked, it unleashes the ferocity of a she-bear who has lost a cub. When the nazi psychologists tell their master, Hitler, that we in the United States may be able to produce hundreds of thousands of planes, but that we have no will to fight, they are only fooling themselves and him. The truth is that when the rights of the American people are transgressed, as those rights have been transgressed, the American people will fight with a relentless fury which will drive the ancient Teutonic gods back cowering into their caves. The Götterdämmerung has come for Odin and his crew.

The people are on the march toward even fuller freedom than the most fortunate peoples of the earth have hitherto enjoyed. No nazi counter-revolution will stop it. The common man will smoke the Hitler "stooges" out into the open in the United States, in Latin America, and in India. He will destroy their influence. No Lavals, no Mussolinis will be tolerated in a free world.

The people, in their millennial and revolutionary march toward manifesting here on earth the dignity that is in every human soul, hold as their credo the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on January 6, 1941. These four freedoms are the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand. We who live in the United States may think there is nothing very revolutionary about freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from the fear of secret police. But when we begin to think about the significance of freedom from want for the average man, then we know that the revolution of the past one hundred and fifty years has not been completed, either here in the United States or in any other nation in the world. We know that this revolution cannot stop until freedom from want has actually been attained.

And now, as we move forward toward realizing the four freedoms of this people's revolution, I would like to speak about four duties. It is my belief that every freedom, every right, every privilege has its price, its corresponding duty without which it cannot be enjoyed. The four duties of the people's revolution, as I see them today are these:

1. The duty to produce to the limit.
2. The duty to transport as rapidly as possible to the field of battle.
3. The duty to fight with all that is in us.
4. The duty to build a peace—just, charitable, and enduring. The fourth duty is that which inspires the other three.

We failed in our job after World War I. We did not know how to go about it to build an enduring world-wide peace. We did not have the nerve to follow through and prevent Germany from rearming. We did not insist that she "learn war no more." We did not build a peace treaty on the fundamental doctrine of the people's revolution. We did not strive whole-heartedly to create a world where there could be freedom from want for all the peoples. But by our very errors we learned much, and after this war we shall be in position to utilize our knowledge in building a world which is economically, politically and, I hope, spiritually sound.

Modern science, which is a by-product and an essential part of the people's revolution, has made it technologically possible to see that all of the people of the world get enough to eat. Half in fun and half seriously, I said the other day to Madame Litvinoff: "The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day."

She replied: "Yes, even half a pint."

The peace must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America—not

merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan.

III

SOME have spoken of the "American Century." I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live. Everywhere the common man must learn to build his own industries with his own hands in a practical fashion. Everywhere the common man must learn to increase his productivity so that he and his children can eventually pay to the world community all that they have received. No nation will have the God-given right to exploit other nations. Older nations will have the privilege to help younger nations get started on the path to industrialization, but there must be neither military nor economic imperialism. The methods of the nineteenth century will not work in the people's century which is now about to begin.

India, China, and Latin America have a tremendous stake in the people's century. As their masses learn to read and write, and as they become productive mechanics, their standard of living will double and treble. Modern science, when devoted whole-heartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream. And modern science must be released from German slavery. International cartels that serve American greed and the German will to power must go. Cartels in the peace to come must be subjected to international control for the common man, as well as being under adequate control by the respective home governments. In this way, we can prevent the Germans from again building a war machine while we sleep. With international monopoly pools under control, it will be possible for inventions to serve all the people instead of only the few.

Yes, and when the time of peace comes, the citizen will again have a duty, the supreme duty of sacrificing the lesser interest for the greater interest of the general welfare. Those who write the peace must think of the whole world. There can be no privileged peoples. We ourselves in the United States are no more a master race than the Nazis. And we cannot perpetuate economic warfare without planting the seeds of military warfare. We must use our power at the peace table to build an economic peace that is just, charitable, and enduring.

If we really believe that we are fighting for a people's peace, all the rest becomes easy. Production—yes, it will be easy to get production without either strikes or sabotage; production with the whole-hearted co-operation between willing arms and keen brains; enthusiasm, "zip," energy geared to the tempo of keeping at it everlastingly day after day. Hitler knows as well as those of us who sit in on the War Production Board meetings that we here in the United States are winning the battle of production. He knows that both labor and business in the United States are doing a most remarkable job and that his only hope is to crash through to a complete victory some time during the next six months.

And then there is the task of transportation to the line of battle by truck, by railroad car, by ship. We shall joyously deny ourselves so that our transportation system is improved by at least 30 per cent.

I need say little about the duty to fight. Some people declare, and Hitler believes, that the American people have grown soft in the last generation. Hitler agents continually preach in South America that we are cowards, unable to use, like the "brave" German soldiers, the weapons of modern war. It is true that American youth hates war with a holy hatred. But because of that fact and because Hitler and the German people stand as the very symbol of war, we shall fight with a tireless enthusiasm until war and the possibility of war have been removed from this planet. We shall cleanse the plague spot of Europe, which is Hitler's Germany, and with it the hell-hole of Asia—Japan.

The American people have always had guts and always will have. You know the story of Bomber Pilot Dixon and Radioman Gene Aldrich and Ordnanceman Tony Pastula—the story which Americans will be telling their children for generations to illustrate man's ability to master any fate. These men lived for thirty-four days on the open sea in a rubber life-raft, eight feet by four feet, with no food but that which they took from the sea and the air with one pocket knife and a pistol. And yet they lived it through and came at last to the beach of an island they did not know. In spite of their suffering and weak-

ness, they stood like men, with no weapon left to protect themselves, and no shoes on their feet or clothes on their backs, and walked in military file because, they said, "If there were Japs, we didn't want to be crawling."

IV

THE American fighting men, and all the fighting men of the United Nations, will need to summon all their courage during the next few months. I am convinced that the summer and fall of 1942 will be a time of supreme crisis for us all. Hitler, like the prize-fighter who realizes he is on the verge of being knocked out, is gathering all his remaining forces for one last desperate blow. There is abject fear in the heart of the madman and a growing discontent among his people as he prepares for his last all-out offensive.

We may be sure that Hitler and Japan will co-operate to do the unexpected—perhaps an attack by Japan against Alaska and our northwest coast at a time when German transport planes will be shuttled across from Dakar to furnish leadership and stiffening to a German uprising in Latin America. In any event, the psychological and sabotage offensive in the United States and Latin America will be timed to coincide with, or anticipate by a few weeks, the height of the military offensive.

We must be especially prepared to stifle the Fifth Columnists in the United States who will try to sabotage not merely our war material plants, but even more important, our minds. We must be prepared for the worst kind of Fifth Column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace. When I say this, I recognize that the peoples, both of Latin America and of the nations supporting the agencies through which the Fifth Columnists work, are overwhelmingly on the side of the Democracies. We must expect the offensive against us on the military, propaganda, and sabotage fronts, both in the United States and in Latin America, to reach its apex some time during the next few months. The convulsive efforts of the dying madman will be so great that some of us may be deceived into thinking that the situation is bad at a time when it is really getting better. But in the case of most of us, the events of the next few months, disturbing though they may be, will only increase our will to bring about complete victory in this war of liberation. Prepared in spirit, we cannot be surprised. Psychological terrorism will fall flat. As we nerve ourselves for the supreme effort in this hemisphere, we must not forget the sublime heroism of the oppressed in Europe and Asia, whether it be in the mountains of Yugoslavia, the factories of Czechoslovakia and France, the farms of Poland, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, among the seamen of Norway, or in the occupied areas of China and the Dutch East Indies. Everywhere the soul of man is letting the tyrant know that slavery of the body does not end resistance.

There can be no half measures. North, South, East, West and Middle West—the will of the American people is for complete victory.

No compromise with Satan is possible. We shall not rest until all the victims under the nazi yoke are freed. We shall fight for a complete peace as well as a complete victory.

The people's revolution is on the march, and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it. They cannot prevail, for on the side of the people is the Lord.

> He giveth power to the faint; to them that have no might He increaseth strength . . . They that wait upon the Lord shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk and not be faint.

Strong in the strength of the Lord, we who fight in the people's cause will not stop until that cause is won.

UNITED NATIONS IN WAR AND PEACE

BY

WALTER NASH

IT is my privilege to speak to you tonight as the representative of a country which along with Australia is the only free and independent country left in the Western Pacific. A country slightly bigger than Great Britain—yet with only 5 per cent of her population—but whose contribution in men and materials during thirty-two months of war has been of no mean order. A country which today is facing the possibility—and a very real, very imminent possibility—of armed invasion.

It is a young country, however, in terms of European settlement—just a century old—whose people have evolved in that short time a political and social democracy to which they are jealously attached. Because of this attachment, because they have a full realization of the issues at stake, New Zealanders have ranged themselves, their resources, everything they can contribute, in full and equal partnership along with the United States, Britain, Australia, Canada, China, the Netherlands, in the united front of the Pacific Democracies against the Axis.

We have seen from our far-away little country what the alleged "New Orders" of the Nazis and the Japanese have meant in Germany, in Japan, in the occupied countries. We have seen that wherever their abominable creed is practiced, there is a final end to liberty of conscience, to representative government, to the reaching of decisions by free discussion and majority vote, to collective bargaining by labor. We have seen that instead there is the secret police, prying into people's lives, persecuting them, condemning them without trial or justice, ruling by terror.

We know that Hitler will establish this order in Europe if we allow him to; that Japan will establish this order in Asia and the Pacific if we allow her to; that together, they will seek to establish this order throughout the world—unless they are prevented. That is why we, of New Zealand, of the United Nations are fighting.

We believe that our civilization, our order of society, with all its imperfections is an infinitely superior one. If the only way to defend this civilization is by force of arms, it is better to so defend it—and, if needs be, to go down defending it. I am confident, however, that by faith in our purpose and by strengthening our forces, the principles for which we stand—justice and freedom and the democratic way of life—will, in the end, prevail.

The change over from a peacetime to a wartime basis is, necessarily, a slow business. In this respect, unfortunately, our United Nations have been at a serious disadvantage compared with our enemies. We entered the war unprepared against a Germany, an Italy, and a Japan whose sole aim is war and preparation for war and terrorization by the threat of war, who for years have been organizing for this struggle. It was not until after Dunkirk that we of the British Commonwealth began to get into our stride. It was not until after Pearl Harbor that the United States began to marshal her resources completely. It is only after some five months of bitter fighting, only after

we have lost Malaya and the East Indies, most of the Philippines and most of Burma—only now, when either Australia and New Zealand, the last outposts of democracy to the South, or India, the last barrier to the Middle East, are likely to be Japan's next objective, are we awakening fully to our peril.

Our immediate aim must be to gain the initiative over Japan and the Axis Powers. To do this before it is too late means that we must organize our fighting capacity in the place or places where it will inflict the most damage on the enemy. It means that we must take the offensive the moment we can—must seize every chance to strike, to strike hard and to strike often. It means that we must not underestimate the power and the cleverness and the morale of our antagonists, whether they be Germans, or Japanese, or Italians. Nor must we delude ourselves that our strength and morale, that *our* physical and moral resources are necessarily and overwhelmingly superior—and it is only a matter of time, therefore, before this superiority begins to tell. It means that victory can be won or lost in the factory, on the farms, on the docks and the highways, in government offices, in the homes of the people. It means that this is total war, that we are one and all combatants, that we must one and all get down to the job *now* —in New Zealand, in Australia, in England, in the United States, in all the United Nations. Until then we shall continue to go back and the Axis will continue to move forward.

But if we *do* get down to the job of winning this war—and keep down to it—if we use our combined resources wisely and to the best advantage, then I believe we shall slowly win through.

I believe that New Zealand is doing all that a young nation can do. The whole of her available man power has been mobilized for war service. All males aged 16 to 66, must lend a hand in the fighting forces or the civilian defense organization. Seven out of ten men of military age are serving in the armed forces. Sixty thousand have gone overseas and are fighting far from home. More than 13,000 have been killed or wounded or taken prisoner.

Despite this terrific drain on man power, production of essential goods has been increased. Enormous quantities of foodstuffs have been grown and shipped to Britain—in 1941, 777,000,000 lbs. of meat, 296,000,000 lbs. of butter, 228,000,000 lbs. of cheese. Hours of work in all defense construction jobs

have been increased from 40 to 54 per week. Men (and women) can be transferred from unessential to essential jobs. Many peacetime rights and privileges which might tend to restrict production have been suspended. Far-reaching and drastic controls over wages, prices, and costs have been instituted. Direct taxation now reaches a maximum rate of ninety cents on the dollar on earned incomes equivalent to $12,000. More than half the cost of the war to date has been met out of revenue—the balance by internal loans at low rates of interest, some at no interest at all. War expenditure this year will be more than treble expenditure in 1940—will absorb 60 per cent of the national income.

These few facts may serve to illustrate the scope and completeness of New Zealand's effort. I believe that the military preparedness of New Zealand (and Australia) will prove a powerful, perhaps decisive, factor in withstanding any challenge that might come to the survival of freedom and democracy in that quarter of the globe. And though we, as New Zealanders, would naturally lose most if democracy were destroyed in our country, the loss would not be ours alone. If New Zealand were to go under, if Australia were to go under, the democratic front the world over would be broken in a vital sector. It should

not happen; it will not happen if we and you and all who believe in democracy, freedom, and justice are determined to prevent it.

II

DEMOCRACY cannot be limited, cannot be hedged around with qualifications and restrictions if it is to be a true democracy. Democracy is more than a political system; it is a way of life. Its outward forms and manifestations may vary from people to people, from nation to nation; but the essence of the democratic idea is that the individual human personality is of supreme importance, that social, economic, and political arrangements should be such as to guarantee to every man and every woman the things necessary for a full and abundant life.

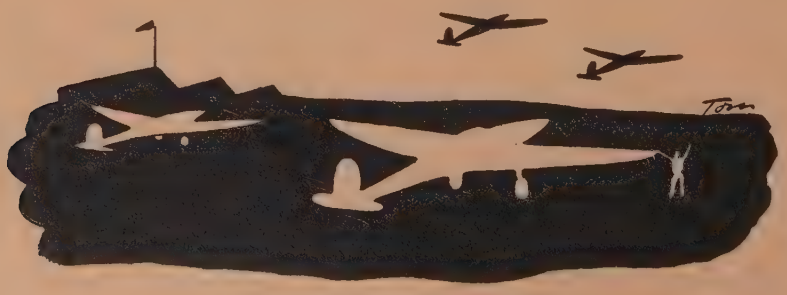
Freedom cannot be qualified, cannot be compromised. It is not the prerogative of a favored few, either of individuals or of nations. We are fighting today in order that we may remain free and equal citizens in the world. If we have faith—a high faith in our purpose—the courage of our convictions, then we must accept the fact, unreservedly, that the freedom by which we set such store is freedom for everybody. We cannot deny to any race, to any people, those rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which we ourselves demand.

Justice cannot be partial, cannot be relative; it must be universal; it must be absolute. If our cause is a just cause—and no one among us will question that for a moment—if we really mean to do what we say we intend doing, then we have a long and difficult task ahead of us, a task that will not be finished when the fighting stops.

It will not be sufficient to win a great victory. True, we must destroy utterly and completely, the totalitarian regimes of Germany, Italy, and Japan. We must free the world now and forever from both the fact and fear of all that these systems stand for. But our determination to destroy must be matched by an equally strong determination to build—and this tremendous constructive effort that must follow victory will require as much courage, as much careful planning, perhaps no less material sacrifice, and certainly more tolerance and understanding than the military struggle on which our present energies are concentrated.

It is not enough merely to give voice to fears and hopes; not enough merely to affirm and reaffirm our ultimate objectives; not enough merely to declare, however solemnly we may do so, that the peace we are striving for is not a peace for Englishmen or Americans or Chinese or New Zealanders in particular, not a peace made by and for the United Nations only, but a peace in which all men of all races will have an equal stake, a peace which they can respect as a just peace and not a vengeful one, a peace which will seek to remove and not to perpetuate those inequalities between man and man—between group and group, between country and country—which in the past have led directly to social, racial, and international suspicions, jealousies, and even war.

If democracy means anything at all, if liberty means anything at all, if justice means anything at all, if those ideals and institutions in the name of which we are today pouring out so much in men and money, are at all worthy of the tremendous sacrifice being made for them—and I believe they are; if the brave new world we so hopefully look forward to is to be a new and better world and not a patched and tattered reproduction of the old, we must see to it that equal rights, equal opportunities, equal access to the earth's riches, are made available to all men and all women of all countries, regardless of color, race, or creed.



MAKE THE NEW WORLD FREE

BY

JAN MASARYK

I CONSIDER it a great privilege to be among the speakers at this important occasion. I do not accept this honor as belonging to me personally, because I consider myself an humble spokesman of the people at home who are daily exposed to Hitler's terrorism, while I shuttle in comparative safety between Great Britain and the United States. Naturally, I have no right to speak on behalf of the other occupied countries, but I find it difficult not to mention the great patriots of Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Holland, Belgium, Norway, France, and, of course, China —who are waiting for their deliverance out of this temporary Hades with the same determination as do the workmen in the Skoda plants at Pilsen which, thank God, has been bombed twice lately, and who hope with me it will be bombed again.

From the information I get from the occupied countries generally and from Czechoslovakia specifically, I wish to state with all possible emphasis that the spirit of these people has not been broken, has not even been dangerously bent. They are all waiting for the formation of the second front—how I wish we could all start that front today! But in these days when the best form of idealism is strict realism, I would like to warn the idealists, who not being thoroughly acquainted with the military and strategic situation would like to press a button and start the ball rolling at once. I should like to stress that my chief and leader, Dr. Beneš, is a realist who has fearlessly told us the truth, even when it was most unpopular. To start something now, which we could not finish, would be a great mistake. Of course our leaders, on whose shoulders the greatest responsibilities in the history of mankind rest, are well aware of this, so perhaps my warning is quite unnecessary. Once the United Nations become really offensive, in every sense of the word, I have no doubt of the response from and by the people who are under Hitler's goose-stepping heel. And I am convinced—that the day is approaching.

Free World! What a wonderful idea, what a lofty ideal, and how difficult to achieve. But on the whole, I am an optimist. I am convinced that all of us who are on this side of the fence have learned or are learning daily from our past mistakes. I am convinced that we all at last realize that no halfway job is good enough if we want to achieve a free world. A total military victory over the Axis is our immediate job. The next one, equally difficult and dangerous, will be the total destruction of the nazi-fascist ideology. In order to achieve this second task, we must be ready to sacrifice everything except our fundamental principles. The people of the occupied countries and of the enemy countries will be tired,

bewildered, disgusted, sad—and many of them angry. And unless we, to whom Providence has given this unique opportunity of preparing a better tomorrow on their behalf, unless we present them with a plan definite and worthwhile, a plan out of which peace and decency will blossom—unless we do that, we are apt to hear their tired voices saying "Oh, what's the use?" That must—that will be prevented.

The never too intelligent legend of self-sufficiency, even of great empires, has been thoroughly showed up as nonsense. Increased interdependence—political, economical, cultural—will certainly follow our victory if we want to win the peace. Our ignorance in the past of how the other half lives has been dismal. Even the lack of knowledge by the British people of America and vice versa, which I have experienced during my long stays in both countries, was hardly believable. Somehow or other in the past, when we ourselves blundered, we very often took the line of least resistance and blamed it on the other fellow. That will have to stop. Either we will perform this great task together and take responsibility together or we will slide back into the haphazard patching-up method which has brought all this misery upon us. Let us face the great fact that a new world has been born; let us face the fact that we can never go back to either 1918 or 1939 or even to 1942. It is in our hands to make this new world ring free. The people in Europe and the people in Asia expect that from us and we dare not disappoint them.

The world has been divided between sheep and goats. Not only the Nazis and Fascists are the goats, but also the people among us who for reasons of personal comfort or gain are ready to flirt with some totalitarian ideas. Let me tell them that they will be out of luck. Before we win this war, we must prove first to ourselves and then to our suffering brethren over there, that our way of life, our way of government, is infinitely worthwhile. I am convinced that it is, but it will take a bit of proving before those who have been let down time and time again will have confidence in our endeavors. Democracy really means a free world but hitherto we have often used democracy for very undemocratic procedures. I understand that during the war democracy must be disciplined and that we must follow our leaders and that orders must be obeyed. But when peace is achieved, the democracy which we must and shall preserve to ourselves and to them must be strong enough, virile enough, imaginative enough, and intelligent enough to erase all remnants of feudalism, fascism, and all the unsavory isms which in my estimation must definitely disappear if we are to survive.

In different countries on the continent of Europe and elsewhere, different methods and longer or shorter periods respectively will be needed before the people are educated to fully grasp the ideals of real freedom and democracy. The different standards of living, the percentage of illiteracy, and many other aspects of this re-education will have to be faced squarely. So you see, I am not visualizing an easy time for the International Board of Education, but we must persist if this is to be the last World War. Some of the countries in Europe, for reasons which I cannot go into tonight, have lapsed into temporary dictatorial regimes. I had the opportunity to warn some of their leaders before they took this step and I know out of personal experience that the majority of the inhabitants was not pleased with the result of a one man government. But the great powerful Democracies did not warn them and some of them even acceded too willingly to the snuffing out of democracy. This inertia on the side of the Democracies resulted in the mess you and we will have to clean up after this war. A federation of enlightened democratic people is our goal. Those who do not believe in it must get out of the way or thoroughly change their minds. If we devote all of our energies to this splendid ideal, we can achieve it—and if we do, Hitler, Mussolini and Company will forever become only unpleasant memories.

A WORLD CONFEDERATION

By LI YU YING

TODAY is the day of the free world. That is to say, it is the day when the organizations which have dedicated their activities to liberty and to humanity have come to rally their forces. I am delighted to express in the name of the people of China as well as in my own name complete accord in these activities. In representing the people of China I speak for similar great organizations and most especially for the Anti-Aggression movements and for the Democratic party and its chief, General Chiang Kai-shek, whom I represent, not diplomatically—because he has his official representatives for that purpose—but whom I represent in his character of popular leader of a movement battling for our great common ideas. In this capacity Mr. Chiang Kai-shek has recently sent a message to the FREE WORLD. He said that it is the task of FREE WORLD to promote justice, the justice which he defends with his arms and with his pen. In his capacity of a popular leader he carries the flag not only of the citizens of China but of the people of the whole world.

This is the day of the organizations of the free world. But what is this free world movement which we here have gathered to support? It is primarily an organization of free men of all the countries striving for the establishment of a universal democratic order. This movement has a great number of sympathizers and a great number of sceptics. It is not necessary to speak of the first group in which all of us here belong, and especially Mr. Wallace, who is the outstanding representative of our ideas, not simply because of his official position, but also and above all because of his position as the voice of a great democratic people. The sympathizers of a free world have already rendered great service to human progress and I am convinced that in the near future they will be able to lay the foundations for a new human society by educating and organizing the peoples of all the nations of the world.

The sceptics of our movement and of all idealistic movements form the principal obstacle to human progress. Indeed, scepticism is a greater obstacle to world co-operation and to our ideals of a democratic society than outright hostility. For hostility is an open opposition to our ideas which can be openly fought, while scepticism, seemingly friendly to our ideas and ideals, undermines and injures them because it does not believe in fundamental human values. Unconsciously, and therefore more profoundly, they destroy the forces of idealism. We can only hope that these sceptics will be convinced by the growing force, by the increasing influence and power of ideals and that they will ultimately join our movement in working for the realization of these ideals.

In our world today there are two opposing systems: world confederation—that is to say the forces of democracy represented by the United Nations—and world supremacy—that is to say the forces of dictatorship represented by the Axis. Do I need to ask where your choice between these two systems lies? This great world confederation will consist of nations and governments, on the one hand, and of social and international groups, on the other.

I deeply believe in the importance of those great popular organizations, national and international, which have understood that the concept of world confederation is the only one which can give satisfaction, not only to every nation, but to every human being. This concept is the only one which can replace war and conflicts by peaceful methods and constructive work.

However grave the present situation, however great the task before us, the free world movement is marching forward. It is preparing the way for a world confederation which will establish the future of mankind on the immemorial and immortal ideals of humanity, liberty, and justice and on the new-old concept of the co-operation and brotherhood of man.

IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE BATTLE

BY

LOUIS DOLIVET

DURING this war I have heard many wounded crying, but I never heard such crying as the day when France fell, a victim of betrayal. I have seen during this war many acts of heroism on the battlefields, but I have never seen greater acts of courage than those of the men and women engaged in the underground movement against the Nazis. In these underground activities we can see the symptoms of the coming revolution for humanity. Once again the peoples of the European continent hear the immortal cry of the Marseillaise, *"Aux Armes, Citoyens."* In many cases they have no arms at all, but they are forging them, they are taking them from the enemy—and above all, they are waiting for the moment when the United Nations will furnish them the weapons.

The moral and material resistance of the subjugated countries has its counterpart in the grim determination, in the production, in the fighting, and in the acceptance of sacrifices by the peoples of the free countries. In subjugated as well as in free countries, private organizations are playing a great role in educating and in organizing public opinion for the great battle of freedom. This is not new in history. In the last one hundred and sixty years private citizens frequently took the initiative in forming associations which became the source of inspiration for great human ideals. It is only after the last war that there was a sceptical and cynical attitude toward private organizations and toward public opinion in general. When the governments of France and England and of many other countries adopted their appeasement policy, they did not consult public opinion in any particular way. In the elections in France in the middle thirties as well as in England all of the governmental parties promised their voters that they would apply a policy of collective security if elected. When they were elected they made one concession after the other to the Axis.

It is not too much to say that both internally and internationally the Democracies exhibited a serious weakness which enabled the Axis Powers to gain a great number of temporary successes. How could democracy have been regarded by the peoples of Europe as a sacred institution while the Japanese, German, and Italian regimes of terror, regimes which destroyed completely the fundamental dignity of the individual, had ambassadors in the capitals of the great Democracies?

This war, despite the many sufferings which it has brought with it, has taught humanity a great lesson, the lesson that a democratic citizen has a number of duties which are the concomitants of his rights. His right to be a free man creates for the democratic citizen the duty to know the value of freedom, to fight for it constantly, to educate himself and his neighbors, to enlarge his knowledge of the world.

This deep belief in the capacity, in the genius of every human being inspired the Free World Association. This is the reason that the Free World movement has had such enthusiastic support all over the world. The sup-

port does not come because of the names of prominent people at the head of the organization. It does not come because it is particularly well run. It comes because those whom we were able to reach understand that we are fighting for not just one country or for a group of countries, but for all countries, for the whole of humanity. We are as interested in the fate of a citizen in Albania or in Poland or Czechoslovakia as we are in the citizen in France, England, and America; in Guatemala and Argentina; in Australia and New Zealand. We deeply believe that, contrary to superficial judgments, nationalism in its aggressive form, expressed by the refusal to cooperate with other countries, is dwindling. We believe that many millions of human beings who have never before understood the nature and structure of the world are beginning to know much more about it and are ready for superior forms of human society. They are ready for a world democratic order.

This new militant spirit, this spirit of progress toward a better world is inspiring two hundred and fifty million human beings, equivalent to fifteen thousand political divisions, in Europe. There are still immense potential forces at the disposal of the United Nations which are not being used. There are many hundreds of millions in Asia living under the rule of the Japanese military clique. There are other hundreds of millions in Asia who still do not have the vision of a free world and who are not putting the full weight of their numbers and their power into the balance of this war. And there are other millions on the neighboring Latin American continent which still wait to be fully mobilized. This mobilization of public opinion is one of the two great aims of Free World.

The second aim is the education of public opinion on problems of democratic world organization. The events of the last two decades have proved sufficiently that the refusal of the democratic countries to realize the necessity of world organization has made fascism possible and that the preparation of such an organization is a vital part of the anti-fascist battle. Many people oppose thinking about the future of the world organization. Some of them do so because they are opposed to every step leading to human progress; others oppose it because they don't understand the ideological aspect of this war. They ignore that planning for the future is a weapon for the present. We in the Free World Association, on the basis of our experience, will stand and fight for both aims.

The Free World movement will do its utmost to mobilize public opinion during this war in every part of the globe for unlimited support of the United Nations in the supreme test of humanity against barbarism; but at the same time, because it is part of the war effort, we shall try to organize public opinion in such a way that its voice will be heard in the glorious days to come when free countries will get together to build a free world.

Free World on the Air

THE regular Free World broadcasts received a tremendous impetus when Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Chairman of the Free World Dinner held in the Commodore Hotel on May 8, introduced Vice-President Wallace to the C.B.S. audience over a coast-to-coast network. The Vice-President's speech was heard by millions of listeners in this country and the summary which he delivered in Spanish was broadcast by short wave to South America where it was rebroadcast on the regular Free World programs in Uruguay, Mexico, and Cuba. It has also been sent out over station WRUL which Free World uses in its short wave broadcasts to Europe and the Far East.

On May 16, the Free World Association organized the program for the weekly People's Platform conducted by C.B.S. At our suggestion the topic selected was The Future World Order. Mr. Lyman Bryson, director of the educational department of C.B.S., presided. Participating in the discussion were Raoul Aglion, Secretary-General of the Free French Delegation in the United States; Lord Marley, former deputy speaker of the House of Lords; Dr. Tsune Chi Yu, Consul-General of China in New York, and Mr. Wladislas Malinowski.

Through the courtesy of WEVD, we have been conducting a Round Table on the last Wednesday of each month from 10:15 to 10:45 P.M., as part of the University of the Air program. These broadcasts introduce the Round Tables which are published almost every month in FREE WORLD and have included discussions on the World War, the Far East, the United Nations, and American propaganda.

FREE WORLD AT WORK

BY

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE second Free World Congress demonstrated the importance of a movement which now unites the political leaders and uncompromising anti-nazi groups of thirty-three nations. Its two most impressive results were the creation of the American Section of the Free World Association and the speech which Vice-President Wallace delivered at the closing dinner, a speech which will probably be as effective in spreading democratic ideals throughout the world as any declaration made by the spokesmen of the United Nations since the beginning of the war. Much was said also at the Congress which did not reach the press, but which we feel sure will interest the readers of FREE WORLD.

Two feelings inspired the discussion. One was a growing conviction on the part of the founders of the Free World Association that the idea which motivated them in launching the movement at one of the most critical moments of the war was sound. The other was a certain disappointment over the fact that the Executive Committee has been unable to carry out many of its plans for lack of the necessary support.

Taken as a whole, the record presented to the Congress by the officers of the Association was one with which they have cause to feel satisfied. In less than eleven months of existence, Free World has extended its ramifications from one continent to another, and in some places, as in Latin America, it has gathered about it that section of public opinion which is most active in support of international democratic co-operation. Letters received from the occupied territories of Europe, especially from France, register the enthusiasm with which those valiant anti-nazi groups have followed the activities of a movement that unites once more in a common front the forces which had been dispersed or demoralized by the policy of appeasement which culminated in the treason of Munich. The voice of Free World has been heard in many languages through short-wave broadcasts, from Bulgaria to Argentina. Its broadcasts have a vigorous political tone, and in any event, do not fall into the error of speaking to men and women of the occupied territories in a manner which, instead of encouraging them, makes them feel that on this side of the Atlantic no one has noticed the deep revolutionary process which is taking place in Europe. Extracts from the FREE WORLD magazine have frequently been reproduced and distributed through diverse channels of the underground movement, while publicly there have appeared a Spanish edition of the magazine in Mexico, regular bulletins in Montevideo, an edition in China, and a series of informative supplements published by *Ultra* in Havana.

Some day the story will be told of how this machinery was set in motion. The first months recall the birth of the heroic movements which marked the most romantic period of the nineteenth century, when peoples began to awake, one after another, to ideas of liberty. But meanwhile it can be told that the movement began when, in a room too small for his impos-

ing figure, the General Secretary of the Association sought to raise the two hundred dollars needed in a Latin American capital to counterattack a vigorous campaign of nazi propaganda in which the local pro-Axis organizations were engaged. On the corners of his desk, for his two chairs were occupied, sat other active members of Free World, and they discussed plans for the following month, without allowing themselves to be discouraged by the lack of response in a country where every cause, from the most absurd religious sect launched by an amiable crank to the noblest philanthropic enterprise, is able to find all the money necessary for its development on a comfortable scale. It was with these plans that the foundation of the movement was laid.

Although Free World has accomplished, in its scant year of existence, a job the importance of which the Second Congress was able to appreciate, we were naturally the first to realize that it was not the hundredth part of what might have been done if we had had the necessary means at our disposal. Broadcasting every day to the occupied countries in a different language is good, but they should all be reached several times a day. Our work requires continuous mobilization for immediate attack. We must follow hard on the heels of events in order to utilize them fully against the Axis. On the day that Hitler relieved his generals of their command, for example, broadcasts ought to have been made to the German people, in German, every half hour, in order to weaken their confidence in the Fuehrer's leadership. They ought to have come to the Germans, moreover, not in the cold and impersonal tones of a radio commentator seeking to analyze that event as just one more happening in the development of the war strategy; but from every German political refugee — Socialist, Catholic, union leader, writer, and man of science—whose name means something to the German people, and with them some other European leader and one from the United States. The latter could have helped the German people to understand that the German movement of opposition to Hitler has powerful and well-organized support that is world wide. The same procedure should have been followed on the day that Madagascar was occupied, and likewise on the day that the world first learned of the United States naval victory in the Coral Sea. These first two happy results of the offensive spirit of the United Nations could have been utilized for propaganda purposes far more effectively than has been done to date.

The same holds true of Latin America. On the day following the Rio conference, the Latin American bureau of Free World suggested the immediate launching of a great campaign throughout Latin America in order to assure popular support of the agreement which had just been reached. It was an excellent opportunity to neutralize in two weeks the nefarious work which had been carried on for two years by nazi groups, by the Italian Black Shirts, by the Spanish Falange, and by agents of the Spanish Secret Service. The political line proposed by the Latin American bureau of Free World was eminently sensible, and there is little doubt that it would have been immediately effective. The peoples of Latin America were to be urged to give their entire support to the policy of their governments in Rio which had declared themselves in favor of loyal mutual collaboration with the United States in defense of American liberty. The political Opposition in the various countries of Latin America is in many cases composed of active partisans of that policy of collaboration, yet is unable to make their influence felt in their respective countries. They were to be urged to forget political differences for the duration of the war, and support their governments, if they really wished to help destroy totalitarian intrigue and enter loyally into the battle for democracy.

It was a campaign which could have had a profound effect upon South Americans. The budget for the entire campaign was in itself ridiculously small: something like five thousand dollars for all of Latin America would have assured meetings with attendance in some places as high as five thousand people. But we could not raise these five thousand dollars. Nevertheless, everything possible was done. In many places the meetings were held anyway. In others, as in Montevideo, the occasion was used to initiate a series of continental broadcasts which today reach out from the Uruguayan capital to the other Latin American countries, and have risen to the number of three daily in Spanish and Portuguese. For lack of money, however, the campaign could not be carried out as fully as we hoped. We still await this financial support to carry out a well-planned program of democratic education where it is most urgently needed.

II

THE reason for this lack of adequate response must be sought in the failure of a great many people to understand the exact nature of the present war. It is difficult otherwise to explain the fact that the Free World movement has received less support in the United States than in any other country where it is active. In some countries, contributions have been painfully gathered together among groups of refugees. The American people have given millions of dollars for British War Relief, China War Relief, and for the support of every humanitarian enterprise connected with the war, accomplishing in that field an admirable job. If they have not contributed in the same measure for political action against the Axis, it must be because they have not understood the importance of political warfare in the present struggle as one of the principal weapons for the destruction of Hitler and his allies.

It is not surprising that the American people have not yet learned to give political warfare the importance it merits in the strategy of victory when even in high circles, which have the supreme responsibility for the conduct of the war, the decisive role of this vital weapon has not been fully understood. The free peoples have, to be sure, witnessed a few strokes of genius in that political warfare which the Democracies must wage in order to win the war. One day it was the British Prime Minister taking the offensive in this field and destroying in advance the effect of any effort Goebbels might have made to disassociate British and American opinion from the fate of Russia. Another master stroke was the speech of Vice-President Wallace at the Free World dinner. He set forth the aims and hopes of free people in words calculated to raise the spirits of all who are suffering under the nazi yoke.

All this is excellent, but such isolated examples of political warfare cannot cover the grave deficiencies which have marked its conduct since the beginning. Political warfare requires a constant, daily effort, but above all, a firm and consistent political policy. All the good effect obtained by announcing the principles of the Atlantic Charter, for example, may be destroyed by a recurrence of the policy of appeasement toward Vichy, Madrid, or Buenos Aires, for it leaves people with the bitter taste of doubt as to the sincerity of the United Nations' democratic policy. All appeals to the people to enroll under the banner of democracy in a war which because of its universal character does not permit anyone to stand aside sound like hollow words to the millions of men and women who are only awaiting an opportunity to take part in the battle, but whose enthusiasm is dampened by evidence of a weak or inconsistent policy against our enemies.

So much for the principles which should inspire political warfare. Then comes the manner in which this weapon ought to be handled in daily use. And here again the record is not very good. Whereas in the field of military organization, production of war material, and gearing the nation to the economy of war the United Nations have made enormous progress, in the domain of political warfare things are much as they were two years ago. I would wager a good part of the money which the Free World Association needs that in none of the great meetings held by the leaders of the United Nations have they given five minutes to the discussion of political warfare out of each twenty-four hours spent discussing the great problems of military strategy. Perhaps the immediate gravity of the situation didn't leave those five minutes free to the staffs and military chiefs gathered about the table. But if this is true, it justifies the demand for the creation of a special council of the United Nations for the conduct of political war, for which we have been pleading since the first number of FREE WORLD.

It is one of the immediate and urgent tasks of the American Section of the Free World Association, which has just been formed, to attract the attention of American public opinion and of the governments of the United Nations to the need of promoting by all possible means this political warfare against the destructive forces of the Axis coalition and its servile puppets masked under the fiction of an unreal neutrality. If evidence of greater weight is needed to prove what panic is caused in Berlin by the mere possibility that the United Nations might utilize fully all the resources for political war which are available to them, that evidence appears in the new prescription for dealing with occupied territories, contained in Hitler's order of May 2, 1942, to the German authorities of France, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and the Balkans. They are ordered to repress with

"implacable violence" any attempt to sabotage the New Order. All previous pretense of patience and restraint has been abandoned. In the comments on the order of May 2 sent out by the office of Dr. Goebbels it is stated with the brutality of the first days of the Polish occupation: "Hitherto Germany has been patient. Henceforth military courts will be paramount. No occupying power can brook revolt; it would jeopardize the struggle a people is waging for its very existence." Hitler knows that carrying on the political war is just as important as keeping in operation the airplane and tank factories of Germany and the occupied territories and that one of the few chances of escaping defeat still remaining open to him is to kill the spirit of revolt which is spreading through the invaded territories in waves of increasing violence.

The crushing of this revolt is indispensable for the new strategy of a "besieged Europe" which Hitler apparently has in reserve in case his forthcoming attack fails to break Russian resistance. This theory of a "besieged Europe" has recently found an echo in the fascist press, through the pen of Giovanni Ansaldo, who frequently expresses Hitler's most intimate opinions. According to Ansaldo, Germany and Italy, once they have obtained their immediate objective of reducing the danger of a military offensive by the United Nations on the continent, may comfortably shut themselves up in a "besieged Europe" and give their attention to consolidating their economic positions in the occupied countries, leaving to time the job of winning the "last battle." This conception of the Italian editor makes clear that Germany has not lost hope of a negotiated peace. Shut up within the fortress of a "besieged Europe," the Axis Powers speculate on the dismay which the prospect of a long war may create in the ranks of the United Nations. Each new frustrated military assault may be used to begin a new diplomatic maneuver, gambling on the possibility of peace and sowing doubt and disunion in the camp of the enemy. For this purpose, it is necessary to bring about order in "besieged Europe," destroying the last symptom of revolt in the occupied countries and isolating them from the rest of the world. Hence Hitler's order for "implacable violence."

It is up to the United Nations to shut this last door of escape in Hitler's face. Recent experience disproves the argument of insuperable difficulty in promoting from the outside an effective revolt in the occupied countries. From a psychological point of view, nothing so strengthens the morale of groups resisting nazi domination in the invaded nations as the knowledge that behind their effort, there is an articulate movement of the type of the Free World Association. But it is not only a question of maintaining the morale of our political allies in Europe. However difficult it may appear to be, there is always the possibility of getting into the hands of these resisting groups money, propaganda material, and agents to help them establish the necessary contacts among the various countries as the progress of military events makes it necessary or desirable.

III

AIDING in the active struggle against the powers of the Axis is not the only task which Free World ascribes to political warfare as it was visualized at the initial Conference in Washington in June of 1941. Bearing in mind that the defeat of Hitler and the destruction of the fascist dictatorships is paramount, Free World does not overlook factors which are still working within the ranks of the United Nations against a real democratic victory. The greatest danger of two years ago, the danger of a negotiated peace which would leave nazism intact and other countries merely an extension of the totalitarian paradise, has diminished considerably. It has not completely disappeared. There are today hidden appeasers who would greet with joy a peace by which Soviet Russia might be eliminated as a power of first rank in the world of tomorrow and the progressive and labor forces obliged to retreat, even though this peace required that Hitler and his accomplices be saved. Potentially, those saboteurs of a complete victory against the Axis are in the same position they occupied two years ago. Appeasers and isolationists do not change their hearts and minds overnight. They know that today public advocacy of peace with Hitler would be suicidal. Popular reaction would turn on them with full fury. But any serious deterioration in the military situation, like a major Russian defeat or the fall of Australia, would turn their minds once more toward their campaign of capitulation under the guise of an "honorable peace."

More grave is the danger coming from those groups which, while favoring resolutely a total military victory over the Axis, are not convinced that there is much in the system exist-

ing prior to the war which is in need of change. These people would probably reply indignantly to a charge of being reactionary, yet they believe that a world order constructed on the old model of classic capitalism is compatible with a democratic victory in Europe. For the moment, and for the duration of the war, they are content to be seen in company with those of the Left, and to cheer Russia at social affairs given for Russian relief. They would even go so far as to admit that Sir Stafford Cripps, despite his radical past, is somewhat of a statesman. But what will be their attitude on the day when, after Hitler and the odious Japanese have been defeated, the hour of peace approaches? Then the man who has grown rich and powerful under the capitalist regime will once more fight for his privileges with the same determination as before.

This is an aspect of the situation awaiting us at the end of the war regarding which the British Labor Minister Bevin has already given a signal alarm. In his last speech before the Council on International Relations of the British Labor party, Mr. Bevin predicted that the moment peace is signed, the forces of reaction will return to life with undiminished fury and will struggle to prevent a real people's peace following a people's war. He must know what he is talking about. He must have noted during more than one Cabinet discussion, that conservative members of the British Cabinet—the Sir John Simons of all shades—show their true faces when the questions at issue touch the interests of the great cartels or the great industrialists.

There remains the danger from the good liberals who have not learned what nazi and fascist power really mean and who insist on "liberty for all." We have seen them in recent weeks arguing in *The Nation* and *The New Republic,* completely scandalized that anyone should have asked for the suppression of the fascist press in this country. They are admirable gentlemen with an indisputable passion for democracy, but capable of ruining a democratic victory during the war or at the moment of making the peace. Their opinion carries considerable weight in high governmental circles. To their ideological influence one must probably ascribe that unfortunate point three of the Atlantic Charter against which Henri Laugier wrote so eloquently in the fifth number of FREE WORLD. That third point gives carte blanche to the fascist regimes to survive after the war under the fiction of a popular verdict.

Up to date, the history of modern times offers no example of a people in a position to vote freely who chose to vote for tyranny. It is useless, then, to take the position, as the Atlantic Charter does indirectly in its third point, that a country may have a fascist government on condition—added by Mr. Eden—that it does not threaten the liberty of other countries. The experience of the last twenty-five years demonstrates that such a government does threaten liberty. Instead of this confused and dangerous third point, it ought to have been declared that "as soon as a country shows the first sign that a fascist regime is about to be established, all other countries will act against it as they would in case of active aggression against any one of them."

The liberty of the world requires a powerful movement organized along the lines which gave birth to our organization. It requires a strong mobilization of all the democratic forces in order to prevent any slackening of the war effort or any reactionary coup d'état in the hour of victory. Such a mobilization is essential to the establishment of an international order based on social justice, collective security, and equality between races and peoples. Otherwise, there is grave danger that in twenty-five years a new generation will discover that, as a matter of fact, peace has not been established and that in its place there has been merely an improvised truce with violence.

—Translated by Arthur N. Colton

FREE WORLD announces with pleasure the addition of Mercer Cook and Lin Yutang to its International Honorary Board. Mr. Cook is Professor at Atlanta University. Mr. Lin, formerly Professor at the University of Peiping, is the author of many books, including "The Importance of Living" and "My Country and My People."

THE DEFENSE OF INDIA

by

H. G. QUARITCH WALES

ON the successful defense of India depends not merely the future hope of a free India but in a large measure also the future of world freedom and civilization. Only by the subjugation of India can Germany and Japan secure a junction which would bring them such complete self-sufficiency that, if nothing more catastrophic, the war would at least be prolonged for several years. Only by the fall of India, too, with the collapse of the Middle Eastern front that is so largely dependent upon Indian support, would Africa be laid open to the full force of Axis penetration. Then the danger to the Americas would be so increased as to make the present threat from Dakar insignificant by comparison. If these then are the stakes, one may well ask what are our chances of defending India, more particularly from the imminent peril that looms so near on the East?

"He who holds the sea holds India." This was a comfortable British saying until, with the fall of Singapore, command of the waters around India automatically passed to the navy of Japan. It was a saying that signified, that though constantly obliged to be vigilant on the northwest frontier against marauding tribesmen and without entirely losing sight of a remote Russian menace, so long as Britannia ruled the waves there was no serious reason for apprehension as to the safety of the British raj. The Indian General Staff naturally has a knowledge second to none of the northwest frontier conditions of warfare. The peculiar difficulties of the rocky and precipitous terrain still make it extremely doubtful if a mechanized army would ever achieve a break through even with the help of local tribal risings, unless the Indian Army were seriously preoccupied elsewhere. Hence it is primarily the unprecedented problems posed by the Japanese threat that give most ground for anxiety.

India's immensely long coast line is the basis of the belief that sea power holds the key to the control of India. Now that sea power is very largely outmoded by the air arm, there seems to be no reason why India, had she a superior air force, could not hold the Japanese fleet at a distance from her shores. The great peninsula of India with its spearhead of Ceylon stretches far into the Indian Ocean. If large numbers of patrolling bombers were available at the airdromes dotted along the coast line, it should be possible to make the Indian Ocean an extremely unhealthy place for the Japanese fleet.

When actual invasion comes, as it may do before India achieves local air supremacy, Japan will have to take into consideration a number of geographical and climatic factors. India consists primarily of two great divisions: the plains of Hindustan in the north and, south of the Vindhya hills, the extensive plateau of the Deccan, bordered on each side by the jungle-clad Western and Eastern Ghats, ranges of hills which hamper easy access from the coastal strip. It is doubtful if Japan would in any case attempt a serious invasion of this southern peninsular region because it contains very few vital military targets. There is, it is true, the training center at Bangalore and the ports of Madras and Bombay, but these would probably all prove to be sufficiently vulnerable to attack from the sea and air. Japan may be expected to refrain from repeating the mistake she made in China of being drawn into a huge country where, although she might win battles, she would merely be dissipating her energy without arriving any nearer to a final decision. India, unlike China, has a much more definite heart where all the main cultural and industrial activities of the country are concentrated. This heart is Bengal, the great and rich province at the eastern gateway to the plains of Hindustan over which Japan would eventually hope to march to a junction with her Axis partner at the Khyber Pass.

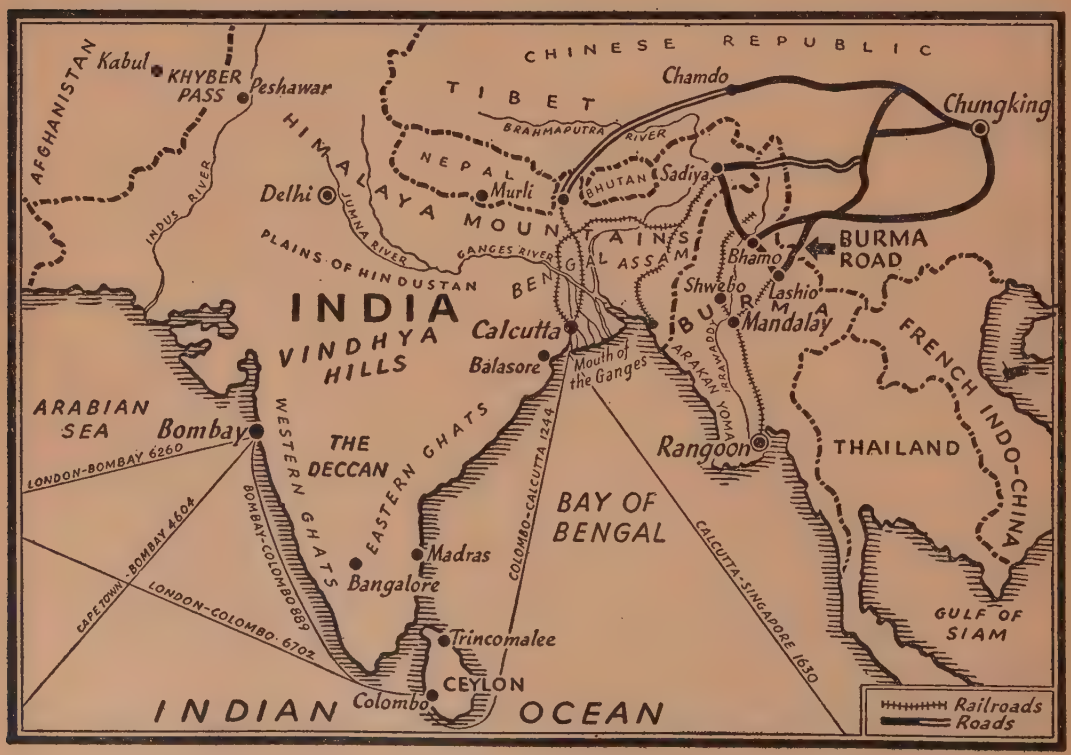
It is on Bengal, then, that attention must be riveted during the coming months. In the Ganges delta stands the huge port of Calcutta with its population of a million and a half, of which some eight hundred thousand are Hindus. Moreover, only just over the Bengal border at Murli is the headquarters of the great Tata steel works. It is quite obvious, therefore, that Bengal is likely to be a primary objective for Japanese attack, knowing as they must that the conquest of this vital province would go far to pave the way to the subjugation of all India. How, one may inquire, would Japan set about such an undertaking?

With Japanese naval domination of the Bay of Bengal, a sea borne invasion of India might appear practicable. Against this is the consideration that Japan is limited in her supply of available transports and might at any moment be obliged to transfer her naval forces to other theaters of war. Moreover, the proximity of the large forces she has accumulated in Burma suggests that she intends to use them against India after she has consolidated her Burmese conquests and effectively isolated China.

Japan has succeeded in opening up a comparatively safe overland supply route from Indo-China through Thailand to Burma, passing entirely through occupied countries over which she has aerial supremacy. It is virtually certain that she hopes by the same persevering means to overcome the one remaining obstacle that lies between her and India, the Arakan Yoma mountains. Though India's northeastern frontier has traditionally been considered safe from violation, there seems no valid reason to conclude that the Arakan coastal strip and the mule tracks leading westward from Mandalay and Shwebo, through which thousands of Indian refugees have managed to escape into India, would prove any more insuperable to Japanese infiltration tactics than did the passes from Thailand. If the Japanese succeed in penetrating much further up the Irrawaddy beyond Bhamo, they will further obtain access to the rich valley of the Brahmaputra, where it runs through Assam. In thus using the New Burma Road for a very different purpose from that for which it was intended they would be in a position to threaten Calcutta from the rear.

II

WHAT we may expect then, in the way of an offensive against Bengal, is the infiltration of large numbers of Japanese troops over these



difficult land routes from Burma with, at the same time, a limited sea borne invasion. The latter is likely to be focused on the beaches near Balasore, just south of Calcutta, and the troops thus landed would form one arm of a pincers designed, with the co-ordinated infiltration from Burma, to seal the fate of Bengal. If the Japanese succeeded in these tactics, they would be in a good position to advance up the Ganges valley on a front of about two hundred miles, their right flank resting on the Himalayas, their left on the Vindhya hills, whose jungle-clad and inaccessible ranges would protect them from being outflanked by British forces attacking from the Deccan.

The plains of the Ganges valley, which when hard baked by the pitiless sun of the dry season would be such a perfect maneuvering ground for tanks, will be useless for any large-scale fighting as soon as the ground becomes flooded by monsoon rains which begin in June. If, therefore, the Japanese have not established themselves in Bengal by that time, we may take it that they intend to content themselves with consolidating their position in Burma. Very likely they will also indulge in a preparatory air offensive against the cities of India until, with the return of dry weather in November, the season would be ripe for attempting the conquest of the subcontinent.

Successful invasion of Bengal would, it is feared, bring them within measurable degree of the attainment of that end. In dry weather the plains of Hindustan would offer every inducement for the Japanese to embark on a spectacular advance up the Ganges valley to Delhi, or even to turn southwest along the Vindhyas in the direction of Bombay. The last move might result in isolating the Deccan from the rest of India. This great peninsula, cut off from the chief munition centers and from the main sources of militant man power in the northwest, might find itself obliged to surrender without seeing much of the fighting.

To sum up, it is only too apparent that Japan is poised for a lunge at such time as suits her best at the exposed heart of India. Her proved ability to overcome mountainous obstacles suggests that she may succeed in destroying the age-old belief in India's invulnerability from the east. At the same time, her command of the Bay of Bengal gives her the advantage of being able to launch combined operations against Calcutta. It is only too probable that a wedge thus driven deep into the pulsating heart of India would ultimately prove to be the forerunner of an invasion designed to fan out and bring about the conquest of the entire country.

Leaving aside the question of air power, the prime importance of which has been indicated, what forces can be opposed to this invasion? India possesses no less than 42,000 miles of railroads, the resulting network giving her an immense advantage for the co-ordination of defense, as compared with China. General Wavell should have no difficulty in rapidly transferring the men at his command to those sectors of the country that are most threatened. But even then, the question arises whether he has enough troops at his disposal. Especially is this the case in view of the fact that the Japanese fleet is in a position to stage feint invasion thrusts at numerous more or less remote points along the coast, intended to draw off portions of our effective strength.

The Indian land forces already trained and equipped in India are now said to total at least a million men. There will be calls for more of them to the Middle Eastern battle fronts as soon as a new offensive there gets under way. These calls will be the more pressing now that the Australians have returned to their homeland and shipping shortage prevents the sending of unlimited reinforcements from Europe or America. This question of available man power, then, brings us right to the root of the problem of India's defense—in a country with a population of 380,000,000!

No wonder the Cripps mission, with its object of securing the backing of the Indian masses for the British war effort, was considered an undertaking of the utmost urgency. Could the United Nations have obtained the willing support of a vast people's army, regarding as a sacred duty the extermination of every Japanese who reached India, enemy chances of securing a foothold in Bengal would be greatly reduced. Even did Japan succeed there, and with the center of war production within her grasp, she would be as far from attaining her ultimate ends in India as she was in China or as Germany is in Norway. No greater mistake could be made now than to allow the failure of the Cripps Mission to stand as the final word in the matter of securing wholehearted Indian co-operation in the cause of saving our civilization.

DEPAUW

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

OF

Adolf Hitler

BY

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE

FIRST of all, it must be understood that from the point of view of the psychiatrist Adolf Hitler is a paranoiac, and also a hysterical subject. A paranoiac is a madman who raves but who is not subject to hallucinations. His delirium is systematized; that is to say, it is logical and coherent. His premises are false, but on them he builds up a train of accurate reasoning. In a paranoiac, derangements of character are particularly evident: he will be dominating, tyrannical, mistrustful, impulsive, aggressive. He can accept no compromise but exacts complete submission to his way of thinking. He avoids company to shut himself up in a dream where delusions of grandeur alternate with ideas of persecution.

Hitler's delirium would not alone account for his success. This rise of a madman to be the head of one of the greatest of modern states can only be explained by the fact that Germany itself was going through a period of social and political abnormality. But this aspect of the question is too vast to be treated here.

A hysterical subject is a man who lives in a state of constant anxiety. He tries to calm this fear by begging for the affection of everyone. He needs to attract attention in order to persuade himself that he is not despised by his fellows. In order to win the good will of his entourage, he forces himself to be all things to all men, changes his personality to agree with those who are about him, flatters some, teases others, and exaggerates every attitude so that he may never pass unperceived. His personality is split into two beings, one of whom he hates and wishes to forget, the other of whom he seeks to perfect. In order to convince himself that he really is the second of these beings he is always on the lookout for compliments, and suffers cruelly from the least criticism. He avoids small and intimate circles, where his weaknesses might be evident, but he loves to show himself before crowds and to make an impression. To capture the admiration of the masses, to make himself adored, to win applause are so many means of forgetting his imperfections.

Hitler is both the mistrustful paranoiac and the hysterical subject who longs to dominate the crowd. He lives in a dream where all nations acclaim him, yet he is always afraid that someone will come to murder him.

The so-called rebirth of Germany, the organization of its war industries, the creation of its modern army has impressed some people and led them to consider Hitler as a genius rather than as madman. The following anecdote shows, however, that before the Fuehrer came to power the common sense of the people recognized him as insane. The incident dates from 1927, and it must not be forgotten that Hitler had then been deprived for five years of the right to speak, and that the long inaction had undoubtedly accentuated his neurotic traits.

In that year Dr. Isidor C. Rubin, the well-known New York gynecologist, was in Munich with his wife and a friend. One evening they went to a beer hall, and as the place was crowded, the waiter showed them to a table where some men were already seated. After a time these men began to sing patriotic songs, and one of them, recognizing that Professor Rubin and his guests were American, interrogated them insultingly. "Why," he asked, "had America not driven out that Jew, Wilson, and his international accomplices?" To avoid a public quarrel Professor Rubin and his friends left the place. The next day,

returning to the hotel from an excursion, he was again accosted by the same individual and insulted in the street. Professor Rubin complained to the hotel porter, and asked him to report the matter to the police. "Don't pay any attention to that Hitler fellow," the porter answered. "Everybody in Munich knows him. He is a kind of crackpot who thinks he is the leader of Germany."

It has often been related that even when foreign diplomats are present, Hitler, if he falls into one of his rages, will bite carpets and curtains, throw books around, and give other hysterical manifestations. I have been able to verify these particular facts from the mouth of eye-witnesses, although other stories which have been circulated seem to be exaggerated. The general public is eager for such anecdotes, which seem to give tangible evidence of Hitler's insanity, but they are not needed to establish the fact. Unfortunately, the man who bites carpets also tears up empires, starves whole nations, murders hostages, thus enjoying to the full the cruelty of his despotism.

It is not necessary to describe all his symptoms; what can be shown is that his success has largely been due to three factors: first, his unbounded ambition; second, his prudence in action; and third, his inability to compromise.

II

HITLER'S ambition has various sources. In his youth, his pride was wounded first by his father and later by the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts, which declared that he had no talent as a painter. Hitler never accepted this verdict. His continued protest against it is evident today in his wish to prove to the world that he is a great man, capable of dealing with every problem, whether of architecture, of finance, of constitutional law, or of military strategy. His ambition is kept at white heat by the imperious need of substituting himself for every authority that appears upon his path. Only a few months after he entered the National Workingmen's party he became its president; even while he was plotting a coup d'état with von Karr, he coveted the post of Governor of Bavaria; and once Chancellor of the Third Reich, he could not endure the idea that Marshal von Hindenburg should keep the presidency. For him the National Socialist party was progressively to take the place of all other parties, all other religions in Germany, the Third Reich was to replace all other nations, and regulate alone the destiny of the world.

With Hitler, such substitution of himself for every authority is not the result of a deliberate and reflective will but of a neurotic need in his subconscious. In his childhood he wanted to free himself of the authority of his father, but the latter was an energetic man who had no intention of being overridden by a twelve-year-old boy. Adolf was obliged to repress his desire for rebellion, and it was only much later, after the first World War, that by a series of displacements he was able to attain revenge on his father. The mechanism of such displacement plays a large part in the formation of neuroses, and it also exists in the subconscious life of many normal people. The following example will illustrate an extreme case.

A few years ago, a laborer was carrying some planks about the streets of Paris. He passed a man on the sidewalk and suddenly gave him such a blow on the head that the unfortunate passerby fell dead at his feet. The criminal was arrested. He made no effort to defend himself nor to escape. When questioned, he could give no account of the murder; he had not known his victim; he had had no intention of robbing him. The only clue brought out by the interrogation was that the unknown victim had a mustache exactly like that of the murderer's father. A further investigation revealed that until he was sixteen years old the criminal had shared not only his parents' room but their bed, and so had witnessed all their sexual relations. Every time he did so he felt an increasing hatred for his father. Finally, unable to endure it longer, he had left home and found work in Paris, where he had been living peaceably for years. From time to time, however, a violent outburst of hatred would recur, and one of these attacks had seized him when he met the stranger with the characteristic mustache. The crime was a result of this displacement.

Similarly with Hitler, mortal hatred for his father was displaced and attached itself to every authority which he encountered. Readers who are not familiar with psychopathological mechanisms may wonder why the Fuehrer, become an adult, has not freed himself from this hatred, since his father died when he was twelve years old and consequently ceased to thwart his plans. The objection would be valid if Hitler's hatred had re-

mained conscious, but it was repressed into the domain of the subconscious where it persisted, intact and uninfluenced by reason or reality. It is a flood which rushes up from the subterranean depths of his being and overwhelms him. Such a hatred, grafted upon the heart of a child, may change its object but it always needs to find expression. It is a compulsion of which Hitler could rid himself only if he could become wholly aware of the original conflict.

For the Fuehrer the need to rid himself of all authorities has another aspect. As long as the rival power is alive and visible, he hates and cannot endure it, but by a well-known mechanism he projects this hatred upon its object and considers that the hatred emanates first from the detested authority. He feels himself threatened by it and believes that only if he can overthrow it will he be safe. It is the persecuted become persecutor. Since this mechanism comes into play before every authority, it is obvious that Hitler cannot cease to fight until he has become the sole master of the world. The dream of doing so is for him a vision not only of grandeur but of security.

He could not accept such a program of destruction as he has created if he felt that he was carrying it through for purely selfish ends. His conscience has been able to tolerate it because he fancied that he was acting for the benefit of National Socialism first and Germany afterwards. It is to escape from the sense of guilt that his delirium has so evolved as to lead him to consider himself the Messiah of the German race, called by Providence to serve a chosen people and give it the domination of the world. By this means, murder becomes holy; it is raised to the level of a sacred duty, an act of heroism. Delirium is a spontaneous belief which leads an individual into error, and thanks to it Hitler has persuaded himself that he is accomplishing a solemn duty.

The Fuehrer's ambition has a further source. Many documents exist to prove that the President of the Third Reich is sexually impotent and cannot achieve orgasm except by means of complicated and obscene mental presentations. The humiliation which results from this incapacity and these perversions leads Hitler to repress his feeling of inferiority and to compensate for it by continual successes or acts of tyranny. Moreover, his orgasm being a cerebral, not a sensory process, his entire libido is engaged in the search not for enjoyment but for power. He is never really satisfied and cannot stop to find pleasure in anything. In politics this tendency is evinced by an inability to transform his conquests into greater comfort and well-being for his people. He is obliged immediately to use the fruits of each conquest for a further growth of military power. Like a very young child, he ignores the pleasure of creating and is driven solely by a need of destruction.

III

THE second factor of Hitler's success is his neurotic craving for security. He has shown himself to the world as a powerful personality. He hates everything in his own character which is not strong and he makes a constant effort to mask his weaknesses, for he needs to be perfect, to consider himself as such, and to create and preserve that opinion in others. He has an abnormal fear that his impotence may be suspected, and for that reason he cannot endure the least setback, suffer the least criticism, nor recognize the smallest mistake. This fear gives him a perpetual need of knowing where his points of least resistance lie. He never moves ahead until he is sure of the position left in his rear. This "security complex" has taught him to develop the tactics of today; that is to say, never to risk an offensive until he is sure of an overwhelming superiority of men and materials, until the least details of the plan of attack have been worked out. Nothing is left to chance; all is foreseen. It is here that Hitler's creative

powers come nearest to genius because he is haunted for months before undertaking any action by the thought of all that might bring failure.

In his mind the development is about as follows: He begins to covet a country, and as with a child, this desire grows more and more imperious. He perceives all the obstacles which lie in his path and before proceeding to action, he fights in his mind all those who might resist him. In these imaginary battles he feels himself to be persecuted, attacked by the adversary, and to be in a state of legitimate defense. Thanks to this period of delirium, he foresees most of the setbacks which he might suffer and takes precautions against them. It is because he does subconsciously feel guilty when he attacks others that he also feels threatened; but this menace, which becomes an obsession and keeps him powerless for several months, also gives him a foresight greater than would exist in a rationally functioning brain.

Seeing many obstacles in his way, a normal man might renounce his purpose, but it is one of the secrets of Hitler's force that he is driven on the one hand by a boundless ambition, and on the other held in check until he is certain of victory. Probably the need to hide his impotence is not the sole source of his prudence; he is held back by deeply repressed feelings of guilt. Every attack that he makes releases a burst of aggressiveness, but he is so inhibited that he cannot give free rein to his combativity. Hence the rationalizations which appear so often in his speeches, as for instance, when he declares that it is not war that he wants but merely to bring German order to countries which are suffering from the misery of capitalism, democracy, or communism.

The third psychopathic factor which has favored Hitler's triumph is his inability to make concessions. This might be called the totalitarian or absolutist aspect of his character. A child five or six years old has no clear sense of relativity. For him a pound of lead will always be heavier than a pound of feathers. To such a child, people are absolutely good or absolutely bad; they are wholly right or wholly wrong. The fact that the same type of absolute conceptions rules Hitler's conduct shows that the origin of his inner conflict lay in the age when his sense of relativity was absent.

He was unable to make concessions to his father; he had to be entirely right. He will never share a responsibility; he must have absolute power, for he cannot take the opinion of others into consideration. The same intransigeant rigidity is to be found throughout his career. We have seen examples of it in his reactions to the National Workingmen's party; in his refusal to be Chancellor in 1932; in his intolerance of all opposition from his ministers after he came to power in 1933; in his dissolution of the Parliament in 1934; in the fact that on the death of Hindenburg he had himself named both President and Chancellor to avoid sharing authority with anyone. Examples of the kind could be multiplied.

Hitler's complete inability to make concessions comes in part from the fact that he is quite unable to put himself in the place of others. Nor can he take his place among his kind; he can only put himself above them. Since a League of Nations is dependent on mutual concessions and collaboration, it is therefore inadmissible for a man who cannot escape from his own point of view. It appears to him as an enslavement simply because it implies a limitation of his total power. The sole society of nations which he can conceive is one which would be entirely subject to himself. He feels it natural to seize his neighbor's goods but he cannot conceive how anyone can snatch the least portion of his authority. The idea of reciprocity is entirely foreign to him.

In a speech of May 4, 1941, he rails at Chamberlain: "For five years this man has been chasing around Europe like a madman in search of something that he could set afire. Unfortunately he again and again finds hirelings who open the gate of their country to this international incendiary." This passage is typical of Hitler. It shows that, like other paranoiacs, he is quite unconscious of the menace he is to others. On the pretext that England is west of Germany he expects her to be indifferent to all his conquests in the East. He forgets that he himself has said that only the German race is worthy to govern the world. Because Chamberlain is trying to create a system of defenses, Hitler sees in him an incendiary who threatens Germany. For his accusations, however absurd and farfetched, are sincere. For the same reason he cannot share the Balkans with another power; he must be complete master of them. If others seek to exercise an influence there, Hitler does not see it as a protective measure on their part but as an attack on Germany. These instances show

the Fuehrer's mania of persecution and his inability to understand the point of view of others. Feeling threatened and attacked, he finds constant motives for aggression.

From what precedes it is evident that Hitler's success is due in part to neurotic mechanisms. What he himself calls his intuition comes from these and not from his intelligence. If his victories were the result of intelligent reflection, he would be able even while enlarging his domain to build up a State, a new regime, a prosperous economy. But as soon as a constructive work is in question (with the sole exception of the army and the war industries, which are weapons of aggression) he shows himself perfectly incapable. Everywhere Hitler uses expedients and chance means, and behind his collossal armies lie ruin, misery, and discontent.

This is not the mark of genius but of a psychopathic condition. Yet the world should not gather too much hope from the idea of Hitler's madness, for of all patients the paranoiacs are the hardest to confine in an asylum. They are driven by a constant passion of hatred which never disarms for a second, which knows no pity and is sustained by a system of coherent logic. The paranoiac is convinced that he is in the right, that his reasoning is accurate, and no argument can convince him of his errors. He will sacrifice fortune, family, and life to prove to others that he is right.

What can be presumed as to the future mentality of Hitler? Contrary to what many people suppose, his madness will not increase with the growth of external difficulties. On the contrary, these will allow him to give fuller vent in action to his aggressiveness. He will quarrel with his generals; he will strike them, perhaps murder them. But as long as he can do so, he will deny reality; he will refuse to admit defeat; he will defend his dreams with even greater vigor. On the other hand, if for some reason he should ever be prevented from functioning—if he were sent to prison or exiled to an island—doubts would be born in his mind. All that he has so long repressed would rise up before him to accuse and overwhelm him, and his mind would collapse. He might then fall into a condition of complete delirium; or, in some violent moment, he would commit suicide.

ON THE "STRUMA" MASSACRE

Now as these slaughtered seven hundreds hear
The golden sennet of Thine angel sound,
Grant, in Thy love, that they may see that ground
Whose promised acres holy footsteps bear.
For they of only this made simple prayer—
Even for whom Thy Son the tempest bound
And waters walked; O not those same where, drowned,
Driven by Judas brains and black despair,
These faithful roll! No not as they, with board
And spike, who took Thy sweetness then, do we—
Studied in ignorance, and knowing Thee.
For Thine archaic crown of thorns and cord,
Statistics are become Thine agony,
The ocean designate, Gabbatha, Lord.

RALPH GUSTAFSON

REINHARD HEYDRICH

The Hangman of Europe

By HENRY MICHAELIS

PETAIN and Hitler welcome and congratulate Pierre Laval as their mutual confidant and ally. The French people manifest their delight about this event with bombs in Paris, Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, and other cities in the occupied zone. The nazi military authorities plan to retaliate with mass executions, but Laval intervenes; mass murder of innocent people, so soon after his reappointment, would harm his prestige and would be bad "collaboration" propaganda. The executions are postponed for a few days. But the French know what is in store for them. Hitler's trust in Laval is limited. He sends another friend to Paris. This is Reinhard Heydrich, the "Hangman of Europe."

Forty-eight hours after Heydrich's arrival, the number of hostage executions mounts considerably; the concentration camps, not exactly empty before, are now unable to accommodate the newly arrested. The hunt for Jews, whether French or refugee, is intensified; all other suspected men and women (and what decent person is not?) are arrested as Communists. This has been Heydrich's method in other parts of occupied Europe. This is how the New Order in Europe is maintained. That Heydrich is responsible for the method and its execution may be seen from the fact that in quick succession he has been ordered by Hitler to the danger spots—first to Austria, then Czechoslovakia, then to France, and now to Holland. It is important to know the man responsible for this "order"; it will indicate what the European underground movement has to deal with if we look at the character of Reinhard Heydrich, the nazi executioner.

•

It is summer of 1932. In a room at the party headquarters Hitler is throwing one of his notorious fits. These have become more frequent of late as increasing power and growing political tension create financial difficulties. However, this is not the cause for the Fuehrer's present spasm. That is due to the fact that von Papen, Germany's foremost intriguer and, according to the judgment of his closest friends, her most stupid diplomat, has just become Reich Chancellor. He has finally taken steps to curb nazi raids on peaceful citizens, and two Nazis have been condemned to death by a special court. They were guilty of a cowardly, beastly murder. Before the very eyes of a mother pleading for mercy, these two henchmen of Hitler killed a political opponent. Now they must pay the penalty.

But Hitler cannot accept the verdict. He demands some sort of action from the notables of the party—Goering, Goebbels, Roehm, and Himmler—who sit silently in a semi-circle while he paces the room and yells, "All that helps the party is sanctioned! What are you going to do to show Germany that there is no crime except disloyalty to the party?" Hitler's old cronies do not answer. They know they will have to let him rage for a while before they open their mouths. But a young man in a new SS uniform, sitting next to Himmler, bends forward and whispers something to the latter. Hitler halts abruptly and shouts at the young man.

The storm trooper rises and standing rigidly at attention says calmly, "My Fuehrer, I suggest that a wire be sent to the two heroes, telling them that the party identifies itself with them to the utmost!"

Hitler's face lights up. He is pleased by the suggestion that has solved his problem. The world is enriched by a telegram which reveals the character of the new German *Kultur*.

The reward to this young man who had the audacity to take the bull by the horns is not long in coming. Young Reinhard Heydrich, although merely a *Standartenfuehrer* and Himmler's shadow, is appointed over the heads of many ambitious SS captains, to be chief of Hitler's bodyguard.

•

In 1932, during one of Hitler's public appearances in Berlin, I made Heydrich's acquaintance. The German Republic was democratic to the point of suicide and gave the enemies of the constitution equal rights with their own loyal citizens. The democratic press sent its reporters to the nazi conventions as a matter of course and publicized their meetings. We were "protected" by the Black Shirts of the SS in case the hysterical audiences found us insufficiently enthusiastic in paying tribute to Hitler's performance. Heydrich, now one of the "big shots" of that department, sat next to me for a while. He had the typical appearance of a nazi leader: hard, cold eyes and brutal features and the attitude of a beast of prey waiting for its victim. However, in his manners he was distinguished somewhat from his colleagues by being something less than a boor. He struck me as a person who had gone wild but who had probably had a good background. I wondered. Suddenly, to my own amazement, I heard myself address him. "What was your father's occupation?" He was much too startled not to answer. "Principal of a music school," he said curtly. We did not continue our conversation.

In 1918, when Germany had lost her war, Heydrich was fourteen. While his father once again taught music in Halle, an industrial city south of Berlin, the machine guns were rattling on the streets of the city. In order to "calm" the workers, as the Nazis today try to "calm" the occupied countries, the military clique—with the silent consent of the Weimar Government—created the so-called "Free Corps" (a band of hoodlums, forerunners of the private army of Hitler) and let them loose upon the civilian population. Adventurous cutthroats, led by former army officers, formed this corps of soldiers of fortune. They made up the first German murder centers. They assassinated sincere friends of peace like Rathenau and Erzberger. They robbed and killed defenseless peasants, workers, and merchants whenever there was a chance to loot.

The Free Corps of Halle was outstanding among these unsocial elements. Its horrible activities received such notoriety that it eventually had to be dissolved. At fifteen, young Heydrich became its dispatch orderly. A year later, he founded an independent youth organization devoted to the same type of gangsterism. His father made a futile attempt to win him back to normal life. The only concession to this effort was that the boy, aided by "patriotic" teachers, managed to graduate from the Halle High School.

In the course of his subversive activities he soon appeared in Munich and there came in touch with Hitler's band. Then he suddenly and "officially" resigned from the nazi movement to volunteer as an ensign in the small and newly established navy of the German Republic. It is typical of the carelessness of the Republican Administration that a man who had brazenly agitated against the Government became a naval officer while loyal citizens were kept out of the service by the old military clique. For ten years Heydrich remained in the navy. He served on various ships, made contacts with many sailors and officers, and spread nazi propaganda without any interference whatsoever from his superiors. Finally, he became Dispatch Officer on the naval staff, an experience which has served him well in his later activities in the Gestapo. He had never, as he boasted later, given up his secret connections with the National Socialist party, and he was already in touch with Himmler.

II

IN 1931, Heydrich quits the navy and rejoins the party. He starts at the bottom of the SS corps, but in four weeks he is promoted for the first time. His career begins in Hamburg. A short time thereafter he is transferred to the party staff in Munich. Within the SS, he takes over the job of the Safety Service. Hitler uses him to stage the notorious assembly hall battles. The object of these games is having guests of the opposition slugged and beaten up while they are surrounded by the fanatical masses of party members. Heydrich's keen seaman's eye expertly spies the victims in the milling masses; he has them slugged with chairs and rubber clubs. Blood flows, and next day the party papers are in a position to report another "overwhelming victory." This is how the murder instincts of the party members are stirred up and constantly kept alive.

Heydrich quickly moves up from the lower ranks of the SS corps. Himmler is delighted to have a former navy officer as adjutant and eventually entrusts him with the task of supervising Hitler's bodyguard which accompanies him on his propaganda travels through Germany. Heydrich's permanent residence is now the Brown House in Munich.

And now in 1933, Hitler is Chancellor. But the violence and bloodshed increase instead of abating. With the police and legal power in their hands, a belated "revolution" is staged by the Nazis. The opposition is being killed systematically. This safe method is applied by Heydrich for the first time in Munich. As chief of the political police there, he institutes the measures for which he has become infamous. The first concentration camp in Dachau near Munich for political opponents and Jews is installed; his henchmen seize innocent citizens throughout Bavaria and torture them in an indescribable fashion. Sometimes instantly, sometimes only after torturing them for days, the victims are slain. Where Herr Heydrich is, blood has to flow.

June 30, 1934, is a day of vast satisfaction for Heydrich. His master, Himmler, who has kept him quite busy with various secret missions for the Gestapo, agrees with him that Roehm, the old comrade, is making a nuisance of himself. Hitler's financiers strongly dislike him. The army, too, is not overfond of this inflated, boastful soldier of fortune. Heydrich and Himmler forge reports of an alleged Roehm *Putsch*. On the morning of June 30, Hitler arrives by plane in Munich. Himmler and Heydrich, in addition to Goebbels and Goering, are the main confidants of his plan to murder his best friends in cold blood. The list of the victims is checked once more with Heydrich. Again Heydrich, in collaboration with Himmler, supervises the executions. By evening the job is done. Roehm remains in Munich under the watchful eye of Heydrich. Shortly before he is killed—according to the reports of Nazis who later escaped—Heydrich visits him in his cell and cynically suggests suicide. Then the shots ring out. After this example of Nibelungen loyalty, Heydrich's prestige with Hitler increases. Himmler summons him as a representative of the Bavarian Political Police to the headquarters of the Gestapo in Berlin. Together they expand the net which is to catch the freedom-loving people of Europe.

III

HITLER makes final preparations for the assault upon the small, unprepared countries of Europe. The sphere of the Gestapo increases day by day. Officially Himmler remains the boss, but it is definitely Heydrich who has become the chief of staff. It is he who expands the organization and drills the agents. Himmler merely gives the general instructions. Everything is being controlled—even the Ambassadors, Consuls, and their staffs. Heydrich is the man for special tasks. Whenever a suspicious person is to be liquidated, Heydrich supervises the action. Twenty-four hours before Hitler is to march triumphantly into Vienna, after the invasion of Austria, Heydrich and Himmler arrive on the spot. They advise Hitler to postpone his trip until the Gestapo is able to take the proper safety measures. This means death or concentration camp for thousands of Austrians.

Shortly thereafter, Heydrich's representative is transferred to Czechoslovakia. Since 1933, the Gestapo has been doing its preliminary work there. A special courier service is in action. Heydrich—as always—remains in the background; his agents do the dirty work. Thus, the former German Professor Lessing, a brave man who had dared spread the truth about the nazi menace, is assassinated. Less successful is the attempt against Otto Strasser, the ex-Nazi who fled to Prague and whose revelations about the party's activities are proving embarrassing. However, a few of Strasser's close friends are bagged.

And now Hitler begins his total war. As the armies conquer one country after another, the Gestapo follows the forces of occupation. It is expected that collaboration with traitors would make things easy—Quislings have only to be protected and paid. But when the results are disappointing, Heydrich works out a new technique. Suspected persons are fetched early in the morning to Gestapo headquarters. Today there are tens of thousands of families in the occupied countries who do not know what has happened to their men. Whoever falls into the claws of the Gestapo is lost. Appeals of outside persons, even of high-ranking Nazis, are futile. Evidence of innocence does not free the victims. For according to the system, terror has to be spread and the people intimidated. In line with this principle, the Nazis have begun with the killing of hostages,

an infamous practice which has been abandoned for centuries.

In the fall of 1941, the heroic and well-organized Czech underground movement becomes so effective that Hitler is seized with panic. His "diplomat of the old school," Baron von Neurath, who heads the Protectorate, is recalled. For the first time, Heydrich receives a post of honor as well as of power. He is appointed Protector and made master of life and death over the Czech people. From the very first day of his arrival in Prague, he enters upon wholesale murder. Czechs who have been kept in German concentration camps for months and could not possibly have had any connection with the underground activities are shot by the dozens. Even the minor Quislings, who had co-operated with von Neurath, are arrested or kidnapped and murdered. Jewish patriots are deported by the thousands to Polish ghettos or to ancient fortresses where they are systematically exterminated. The relentless executions are on such a vast scale that President Beneš has to appeal in a radio address to his people to resist—for the time being—the demonstrations and activities that serve as an excuse for Heydrich to decimate the nation.

•

Last November, Himmler sent an SOS to Heydrich, summoning him immediately to Norway where the people were making life rather unpleasant for the Nazis. From Oslo, the "protector of death" had to go to Belgium and Holland where he was just as urgently needed. Again back to Czechoslovakia. And now, just as he has arrived in Paris to establish there the murder center against the people of France, he is again called back for action in the Netherlands. "Hitler's Bloodhound" or "The Hangman of Europe," as the underground press calls him, is the typical representative of Nazi Germany. In Hitler's world, Reinhard Heydrich is counted as one of the most successful of men. For the rest of the world he is the incarnation of the infamy of Germany and of those who—even today—claim that one can live at peace with Hitler.

Appeal to the Living

BY CARL ZUCKMAYER

TO resolve to die is the inalienable right of every individual. Once this decision has been reached and carried out, death itself silences all question as to whether the deed be right or wrong. For this there can be no rule and no law other than that of the free will of the person involved. But for those of us whom a suicide in our midst leaves shattered and confused, there arises one great question. What is the sense of our going on?

All too easily one might be inclined to interpret the action of this one individual, who has been battered by the same forces of destiny as ourselves, as a kind of common ideal and to let the path he has chosen be an example to us all, a way out, a judgment of the gods. It is a tantalizing thought, indeed, to reach out in lonely pride for the poisoned cup, now, before the horrible forest of gallows which may await us all becomes reality. It might almost seem our salvation to cast off this weary burden of life before it crushes us to earth and throttles us. The very thought of it rises to one's head like a sweet delirium, an intoxication in which one could, in joyful sadness, immerse one's self. These words themselves conjure up a vision of the expiring fulfillment of one last lingering desire—to slip away, to float away, to drift away, to flow away, to sink away, to disappear forever and forever. Who has not heard the urgent whisperings of this temptation? Who has not indulged himself in such heart-palpitating reverie, where, as in the first chaotic pangs of love, fear of life and the reckless bravado of leaping into the unknown, of crossing new frontiers, of releasing one's new-found personality, are merged in one breathless, anguished moment's ecstasy.

But now is not the time to sleep with death.

This twilight which surrounds us is not that of evening, of opiate dreams or thoughts of tender passion. Behind this dusk-o'erladen sky there flames the bloody red of dawn, warning us of the harsh day ahead and summoning us to live, to struggle and stand fast.

Do not surrender!

We are alone. We are besieged by a constant nightmare of doubt and desperation. Many of us feel the rough hand of poverty closing around our throats. We have no banner around which to rally, no hymn which might unite us and put courage in our hearts. We are too proud and have withstood too much to let our heads be turned by hopeful illusions. We know what lies before us: battle, battle unto death—and we are seasoned fighters. We know our enemy. We stand, face to face with the truth about our situation. We have nothing, nothing but our life. But this, when put to the acid test, is still a bastion, strong and incorruptible, a force defying all who would annihilate it, a sword on which the symbols of victory are engraved, a weapon rendered keen and terrible on the whetstone of hatred and blessed by the greatest of all powers, that of love.

The life of every individual, stamped out in high relief upon the body and the soul of man, the life of every individual which maintains itself, opposed to and despite the threatening force of annihilation, and which remains true to its cause, becomes a bulwark against which the enemy's attack must break. As long as there is still one man alive who, no matter how hard pressed, thinks, feels, believes, and desires differently from his oppressor, Hitler will not have conquered.

He cannot and he will not conquer our hearts. He cannot and he will not conquer if he is not able to gain a foothold in our souls and vanquish us, extinguish, poison, and destroy us from within. Do not allow weariness to overcome you, that weariness which makes the lonely watch more dangerous than the battlefield. Sing it away, as long as there

is still a breath left in your lungs. Call out your motto, your watchword through the night. That watchword shall be: Live!

Do not surrender, even though the outpost where we stand be bitter cold and its position perilous. Has not just such an outpost often turned the tide of battle?

Might prevails, weakness goes down. But might is not alone the accumulation of outward forces. The greatest power on earth is that of life itself if it be guided by its own creative consciousness. Then it is master over even the most terrible forces of destruction, just as the seed, the living cell, is mightier than a tidal-wave, or an armored tank.

This, our only life, this smallest and this weakest thing on earth is power itself as long as it is willing to participate for the good of all as a reservoir of creative activity. This free creative life upon this earth is what we are fighting for. This life of free creation flows about us on all sides. It casts its web around us with a thousand threads, with myriad waves of light it penetrates us through and through. It is a gift, a blessing and a miracle, a symbol of perfection, of completeness. The roseate light of dawn kisses the snow there on the windowsill outside the smoke-filled room in which you struggle and doubt. The rising sap bursts forth from the bark of young, new trees. The face of the dead may become a thing of marble-like beauty in the second before it disintegrates for ever. The hand of a man clasping the wooden handle of a shovel. The power of his every rhythmic move. Work. Work and the rich smell of fresh-turned earth will merge with the deep inhalations of breath in your breast.

In the hours of hunger and of thirst, do not forget the taste of bread and wine. Do not forget the power of your dreams.

Do not surrender.

We must protect this life of ours down to the last, for it belongs not to ourselves alone. Come what may, fight on. Live—out of obstinacy. When all else fails you and all joy in life is gone, live—out of anger. Not one of us dare die as long as Hitler lives. Strengthen your will to live and to survive the plague. Think of the men who are fighting today. Think of what is at stake.

Fight, by not giving in to death. Share. We must share and we must make amends for all the mistakes and shortcomings which have been made in the past or in our time, through us or through others. These shortcomings, this failure to live and fight, must be atoned for. Some of them have been atoned for, but we do not yet know how much more remains, how much can be redeemed, made good, collected, and transformed into sacrifice and deed and victory. But even if this victory seems far away and almost unattainable, do not surrender. Even if the war be lost, do not surrender. Think! Rather than surrender, every one of us, regardless of age or sex, shall clasp a gun in his hand and become a guerilla-fighter. If that day comes, then there will be nothing else and nothing nobler you can do than to serve life, by killing. To wipe out evil whenever and wherever you encounter it.

For who of us can claim to have attained such integration, such knowledge of his own greatness that he believes himself to be above such things as love and hate in this our only life on earth? And who would dare to say of himself that he has suffered far more deeply than another?

You know them all, those who have died, seemingly of their own free will, yet at the same time at the hand of others. From the hemlock cup of Socrates to the gas tube of the unemployed, you know them all. World-weary Petronius opening his veins, the star-cool clarity of Seneca, Empedocles' leap into the fiery crater of Mount Etna, the general who falls upon his own sword.

But that is not for us. So throw your coat about your shoulders and do not hesitate. March along steadfastly through the night. Gaze without fear into the horrible gloom.

Love and hate, be human beings, prepared to breathe, to fight, to breed, and then to die, when the last drop of blood leaps from your heart. This last drop of blood will glow, like a votive offering to the freedom of the spirit and to that still greater power which drives us onward and guides our steps, which is our sacred destiny, our be-all and our end-all and the fountain source of all our lives: Immortality.

—Translated by Gerard Willem van Loon

Toward a New European Economy

by

Bernard Batt

OUR generation has seen two World Wars. There is no person in the whole world who is not deeply affected by these two wars. Two World Wars in a quarter of a century—that is too much for humanity not to learn something, not to do everything to prevent for a long time, if not forever, another repetition of this terrible performance. But in order to do so, we must understand, not only the causes that brought about that cataclysm, but also the meaning and the sense of events. Our ancestors who lived through the decline of Rome and Byzantium, through the Holy Crusades, through the Thirty Years' War, and through the Napoleonic wars also saw nothing but oceans of blood, human bestiality, and the destruction of civilizations. However, every such historical cataclysm gave birth to a new social order. To what new order will the present suffering give birth? Is there some higher meaning in the violent death of our youth?

The answer to these questions is simultaneously an answer to the question of Allied war aims. The Atlantic Charter provides but a framework for a greater picture of the new order which the Allies propose to install in Europe after they have achieved victory. But that new order depends not only on the will of the statesmen who will some day assemble around the table in a peace conference but also on the economic and psychological conditions which they will find in a Europe liberated from German oppression. Thomas Masaryk called the first World War a world revolution. It was a world revolution because it was followed by deep social changes: several dynasties were overthown, oppressed nations were liberated, organized labor became a political power, and backward peoples were awakened to national consciousness. There can be no doubt that the second World War is bound to cause immeasurably deeper changes, that it will bring an even greater world revolution. The Allied statesmen—granted their good will and wisdom—will be like a sculptor who has a statue to carve. The question is what material will they find with which to fashion the statue —will it be sand, clay, or stone?

Nazism has united divergent and quarreling European nations. It united them in universal oppression, universal serfdom, and universal want. European nations had different national characters. The phlegmatic Dutchman acted differently than the hot-headed Balkanite or Italian; now he hates the Prussians no less passionately than the Serbian. In spite of their different histories, traditions, cultures, and characters, the conquered nations of Europe have reacted against nazi occupation in the same way. Desperation and hopelessness after the defeat were followed by national unity and a growing hatred of Germans. When the legend of nazi invincibility had been shaken by the British and destroyed by the Russians, national demonstrations—placing of flowers upon national memorials and the turning of backs to parading Nazis—were replaced by sabotage, strikes, assassinations, and guerrilla warfare. Old quarrels and ancient hatreds have been forgotten to make place for a universal hatred of Germans. Regional nationalisms which made European unity impossible have now been crushed by the nazi iron heel.

The Nazis have united Europe economically. Anti-Semitism was an efficient weapon to ex-

propriate Jewish capitalists and also to penetrate the national economies of all European countries. There is no bank, no mine, no factory in present-day Europe which is not owned entirely or in part by Germans. They not only took possession of buildings, of machinery, of stocks of raw materials, but they also reorganized the entire European economy with famous German thoroughness. Undertakings have been merged, old or economically unsound enterprises liquidated, new factories established.

Germany's defeat and the collapse of nazism will charge the victorious Allies with a very important problem: what to do to stabilize European economy, thus changed, combined, and reorganized? It goes without saying that at the moment of the collapse of nazism all the German commissars, businessmen, technicians, "advisers," and all other carpetbaggers who trailed the German armies to the conquered countries will disappear even quicker than they came. Together with them, all the Quislings, the collaborationists, and the native Fascists will flee or hide in order to escape the vengeance of the infuriated peoples. Many a European industrialist and banker will prefer exile to the task of accounting for his behavior during the occupation. France is a good example of how a whole class, in a vain attempt to save its material riches, preferred national humiliation and defeat. In every occupied country it is the industrialist and the banker who is forced—even if he is a sincere patriot—to collaborate with the Nazis and thus to share responsibility for the doings of all the puppets and the Fascists. The shots at Laval and Déat have been a warning to all collaborationists. One can be certain that they will not fail to remember that warning when their German protector will be busy saving his own neck.

The German collapse will thus bring about a sort of vacuum in European economy. It will be as if all the owners, managers, and directors of all the industrial enterprises of a whole country suddenly left for unknown destinations, not safeguarding their enterprises before departure. The universal chaos, hunger, and poverty will, on the other hand, force the Allies and the governments returning from exile to organize their economies as quickly as possible. They will not have time to solve the complicated juridical problems of former ownership, to dissolve the merged companies, to look for the former stockholders and directors, many of whom are scattered all over the world, or have died in exile or in German concentration camps—or have fled from the wrath of the patriots. Europe will have to work hard and work quickly after the war to repair all the ills of nazism, to feed the hungry peoples, and to restore peace-time economy. There will be no other resort than to replace the German and collaborationist commissars, technicians, and businessmen in industry and commerce with trustees, commissars, and technicians of the Democracies. Thus, in taking over the nazi-controlled enterprises the democratic governments in post-war Europe will be obliged to enter upon a period of state ownership of industries.

II

THERE are among the Allies and the governments-in-exile people who will shrink before such a prospect. Unfortunately, their terror can only delay the final solution and prolong the chaos. The sheer impossibility of quickly restoring pre-war ownership, the universal impoverishment, the absence of private capital able to buy the existing companies or to set up and promote new corporations, the need of a smooth and rapid transition to peace-time production will force even the most devoted partisans of private capitalism to bow before the necessity of a planned and state-controlled economy. It may be argued that there will be plenty of foreign investors and enough European capitalists to restore and perpetuate the institution of private capital in Europe. But dependance on foreign, absentee capitalists—with all that this implies in the way of endless payment of interest, burdensome taxation, and new business cycles—means more foreign intrigues, more unemployment, a new wave of chauvinism, and ultimately some new kind of fascism.

The peacemakers will not allow this to happen. Moreover, they will have to take into consideration the will of the conquered people. That will is today unified as it has never been before. All the various political parties of the pre-war and pre-fascist Europe have disappeared under the iron heel of German oppression. There are now two political groups in Europe—the party of the collaborationists and that of the opposition. The first represents a small minority, while the second can rightly boast of having the backing of entire nations.

In each country this revolutionary party—without registered membership or elected representation—organizes the entire nation and directs its struggle for liberation. This party is thoroughly nationalistic, which in present-day Europe means anti-German. But it is also learning more and more every day to disregard the petty nationalisms of yesterday. The enormous concentration camp which is Europe today is a good school for healthy internationalism.

In the Europe of yesterday the influence of socialism was so strong that even the enemies of proletarian socialism were forced to camouflage their reactionary goals with some kind of socialist labels. The socialist parties were not only the political representatives of the working class, but also directed the trade union movement and received the support of the peasants. In many European countries the word, "socialist," was synonymous with "liberal." The socialist movement, like all other political groups, has been crushed by the Nazis. But millions of former Socialists live, work, and fight now in the conquered countries. And since German oppression is not only national and political, but also to a great extent economic, it is only natural that the revolutionary movement of the conquered peoples fight for economic as well as for national and political freedom; in other words, for some degree of socialism.

And so the three factors which the victorious Allies will find in continental Europe after the German collapse—the chaos left by the Nazis, the necessity of rapid post-war reconstruction and adjustment, and the will of the conquered peoples, expressed through the revolutionary party—all point to the same solution. This solution is a planned economy with state ownership of the heavy industries, banks, mines, and large factories. In conjunction with political federalization of Europe into several large blocks it is the only solution capable of overcoming the social and economic crisis of Europe. It is also the only program which can hope to cope with the German problem.

German imperialism, the most reactionary and most violent among all other imperialisms, started two World Wars in one quarter of a century. The victory of the Allies twenty-four years ago was a great opportunity to destroy forever the cause of German aggressiveness, the very foundations of German imperialism i.e., the German ruling classes, the militarists, the big land-owners, the industrialists, and bankers. Had the Allies done it, there would never have been another World War. The Allies did not do so because the Russian revolution introduced a new factor—communism. Suppression of German imperialism would have meant a socialist Germany as the neighbor of communist Russia—and the Allied Powers feared that more than anything else. The ruling classes in Germany retained their powers. The treatment of the German Republic by the Allies played into their hands. Nazism and a second World War were the results.

Now the choice will be substantially the same, but the conditions are different. Russia is no longer an outcast among the nations, and the Allied peoples realize that there will be no peace without collaboration and friendship with the USSR. Goebbels exploited the fear of communism so thoroughly that even Lord Beaverbrook and other British Tories now praise "communism under Stalin."

If the world is to get rid of nazism, there must be an inner purge in Germany after the war. That purge must affect not only the Gestapo and the Elite Troops, but also the military and industrial Junkers who brought them into being. The responsibility for nazism is too obvious, the war guilt too evident, to permit the German ruling classes to escape punishment. On the other hand, the only way that the German people will *unlearn* how to make war and how to pillage whole continents is to free them from the overlordship of their masters. Left alone for a generation, without instigation by the Junkers, given peace and social security, there is no reason why the Germans should not be able to find their place in the family of peaceful and civilized nations. After all, it is merely Hitlerism in reverse to look for the roots of nazism in the racial origin of the Germans!

III

BUT state regulation of industry, not to mention state ownership and management, means totalitarianism, regimentation, an end of democratic freedom. Is that what we are fighting for? Many sincere American liberals will oppose this goal. They must bear in mind, however, that Europeans view this question in a different light. To begin with, private initiative is not regarded as highly by European peoples as by the English-speaking world. Al-

most everywhere in Europe, railroads, highways, telephones and telegraphs, radio stations, and public utilities have been owned and managed by the state. In many European countries mines, mills, foundries, and airplane and automobile factories have always been operated by the state; in other countries the government left actual management to private initiative, but nevertheless was a large—sometimes the largest—stockholder in many commercial and industrial enterprises.

The notion that state ownership of industry means totalitarianism sprang from the unhappy experiences in the Soviet Union and in the fascist countries. In view of recent events, leaving the Soviet Union aside, it has become apparent that this notion confuses cause and effect. Fascism and totalitarianism do not originate in state regulation of economy. On the contrary, fascism and totalitarianism emerged when and where political mismanagement by democratic governments and the blunders and crimes of private economy brought countries to the point of bankruptcy and caused economic and political chaos and unemployment. Italian fascism did not initiate state regulation of economy until it began to prepare for military conquests. Nazism started with state regulation of economy on the very first day, because on that day it inaugurated its war economy. War economy is impossible without drastic curtailment of private initiative, and state regulation of economy does not necessarily mean fascism and totalitarianism—as the people of Great Britain and America have learned in the last few years.

It is unimaginable that the conquered peoples who now suffer so much and make the greatest sacrifices for freedom will be content with anything less than democracy after the victory. Men who are risking death today by listening to BBC broadcasts or by printing, distributing, and reading clandestine leaflets will not be satisfied with anything less than freedom of the press and of the radio. The common man of Europe today is sick and tired of Fuehrers and does not fight today in order to change the present Fuehrers for those of tomorrow. Men who learned the meaning of Gestapo, who lived through concentration camps, will not allow some other secret police to play with human life, security, and freedom. That is the higher meaning of the present suffering and present heroism. Men are not dying today in vain. Freedom which, in the days of the decline of Europe, became a meaningless word to be used only by holiday orators, today has again become an idea worth living and dying for.

And so the socialism which we envisage in post-war Europe will be a democratic socialism. The state which will manage the national economy will be a democratic state, with democratic freedoms, with constitutionally guaranteed liberties, with freely elected legislatures. By democratic socialism we do not envisage any millennium. New problems will emerge, new struggles will be fought. But if there is some conclusion to be drawn from two World Wars in a quarter of a century it is this: no durable peace and no stable democratic liberties will be gained by mankind without economic freedom, without a thorough solution of the economic and social problems.

If the victorious Allies, if the governments-in-exile will not accept this solution, if they will try to re-establish private capitalism, then after fighting Germany, they may have to fight their own people. As in 1918, the people in the defeated countries will try to establish economic freedom, and will defend their only chance for that with arms. Then huge armies of demobilized soldiers and unemployed workers will create a new hotbed for new demagogues and prospective Fuehrers, and short-sighted and selfish advocates of business-as-usual will again commit crimes against themselves and against the nations. Then the German ruling class will hide again behind some politicians acceptable to the Allies in order to emerge again, some years later, and to plunge the world into a third World War of revenge.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA

by

Wousaofong

AT the end of the first World War, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, published his plan of China's economic reconstruction, entitled "The National Development of China." He considered this plan to be a part of the post-war world reconstruction. In commenting on it, he wrote later: "The influence of my pen at the service of peace will be greater than that of my sword, which destroyed the Manchu Dynasty."

He reasoned that, during the first World War, innumerable war industries had been created to produce one hundred and twenty million dollars worth of war materials per day. This tremendous war production had no other markets and consumers but the battlefields and the troops which were destined to disappear and to be demobilized with the cessation of hostilities. If we continued to utilize the same stocks of tools to produce peacetime commodities on the same scale, and if the former belligerents could consume only half of these, there would be an overproduction of commodities of sixty million dollars a day. But the more than ten millions of demobilized soldiers, who were consumers during the war, would become producers after the armistice. Hence, either the overproduction or the non-utilization of the large quantities of tools and machinery and of the unemployed technicians and labor would produce an economic crisis. China, which has a population of 450 millions, has been, is, and will always be the largest market for the Western countries. Her population cannot buy so long as her industries are not developed, which keeps the people in poverty. Therefore, the best means to prevent a post-war economic crisis would be to enrich the Chinese masses by exploiting China's natural resources. If the purchasing power of each Chinese could be increased by only ten cents a day, the purchasing power of China would be increased by $16,425,000,000 a year. Let us suppose they would spend 10 per cent of their increased income in buying foreign goods; this would mean $1,642,500,000 for exporting countries like the United States and England.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a realist as well as an idealist. He knew that China was unable to afford the capital necessary for her industrialization, and industrialization was absolutely necessary for the improvement of the Chinese people's livelihood and vital for China's freedom. Hence, he suggested that the Allies of the last World War organize a consortium through whose agency China could utilize a large part of the idle tools and machinery for the exploitation of her natural resources. However, Sun Yat-sen did not want to employ foreign capital at any cost. He proposed the following conditions on which China's economic development was to be carried out by means of international collaboration:

1. Organization of an international finance consortium, as an intermediary between China and the foreign capitalists;

2. Agreement between the Chinese Government and foreign governments for a convention

which would safeguard China's sovereignty and benefit all signatories.

3. Establishing the support of Chinese public opinion for this program in order to assure its permanence.

The measures of this program of economic reconstruction may be summarized as follows:

I. Communications Construction
   - A. New railroads—100,000 miles
   - B. New highways—1,000,000 miles
   - C. Canals to be improved: Hangchow-Tientsin, Sikiang-Yangtze River
   - D. New canals: Liaoho-Sunghwakiang and other canals
   - E. Rivers to be improved: Yangtze, Yellow River, Sikiang, Hwaiho
   - F. New telegraph, telephone, radiograph, and radiophone lines.

II. Seaport Construction
   - A. Ports of the first rank, like New York: Great Northern, Great Eastern, Great Southern
   - B. Second and third rank commercial ports and fishing ports
   - C. River ports.

III. Modern City Construction at Railroad Centers and Terminals.

IV. Exploitation of Water Power.

V. Exploitation of Iron Mines; Establishment of Metallurgic and Cement Factories.

VI. Exploitation of Other Mines.

VII. Agricultural Development with Scientific Methods.

VIII. Irrigation of Mongolia and Sinkiang.

IX. Forestation of Central and North China.

X. Emigration of the Population of Central China to Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kokonor, and Tibet.

Foreign private and government circles approved this plan. At the suggestion of the United States, an international consortium was organized in Paris to take the necessary steps for its realization. But before anything positive was done, Sun Yat-sen died and action was indefinitely delayed. However, the death of Sun Yat-sen served to emphasize his greatness and made his doctrine the bible of modern China. After the establishment of the Kuomintang Government in 1926, a vigorous program of economic reconstruction was initiated both by the Central Government and the various provincial and municipal administrations.

The greatest progress has been made in the field of transportation. The first railway in China was laid in 1876. In 1919, when Sun Yat-sen was planning his reconstruction program, there were only 3,661 miles of track; and when the National Government began its work of economic reconstruction there were 5,634 miles of railways. Before 1926, there were no motor roads other than a few miles in the foreign concessions, although there were some 2,000 miles of imperial highways. The following tables indicate the progress that has been made in railway and highway construction.

Railways Completed Since 1926

Name	Miles	Year Completed
Chekiang-Kiangsi-Hunan	600	1937
Chuchow-Shiackwan section, Canton-Hankow	250	1937
Hengyang-Hochi section of Hunan-Kwangsi	440	1940
Soochow-Kashing section of Shanghai-Hangchow	30	1937
Hangchow-Ningpo	100	1937
Kunming-Chuching section of Suifu-Kunming	90	1940
Loyang-Paoki section of Lunghai	310	1939
Tatung-Tungkwan	500	1937
Liaoyuan-Tsitsihar	300	1930
Total mileage	2,730	

Railways Started but not yet Completed

	Miles
Chungking-Chengtu	310
Canton-Meihsian	250
Pukow-Hsiangyang	450
Nankwan-Nanning	160

	Miles
Kunming-Suifu	650
Yunnan-Burma	700
Total mileage	2,520

Highways constructed before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July, 1937	68,054
Highways construction from 1937 to 1939	65,215
Highways under construction by Ministry of Communications since 1929	887
Highways under construction by provincial governments under the supervision of Ministry of Communications since 1939	2,480
Total mileage	136,636

Although the marked progress indicated in these tables represents a great achievement by the Chinese Government in the face of tremendous difficulties, this development of transportation facilities does not constitute 10 per cent of the requirements set forth in Sun Yat-sen's plan. There has been even less progress made in other fields. Thus, the whole problem of China's economic reconstruction still awaits solution. It will undoubtedly be accentuated by the devastation wrought by this war, not only in China, but throughout the world.

II

AS in the time when Sun Yat-sen formulated his program, however, the needs of China can be related to the post-war needs of world reconstruction. Moreover, assuming that the United Nations win this war, there will be tendencies toward international co-operation and mutual aid in the solution of problems which were completely lacking after the last conflict. Also, the position of China has immeasurably improved. In her battle against the Japanese she has revealed the great potentialities of both people and country; she has established the strong character of her Government; and she has earned a place of equality among the great Democracies. All this will facilitate political and economic collaboration after the victory over the Axis Powers.

While the best means of realizing Sun Yat-sen's program of development will be determined largely by the circumstances of this victory and the peace that follows, it is possible to consider the obvious methods: first, collaboration between the Chinese Government and foreign capitalists through an international financial consortium; secondly, an attempt at isolation and self-sufficiency; and finally, co-operation with other members of a world confederation. It has been the experience of debtor countries that they are never able to free themselves from the yoke of foreign creditors. As for the second method, Soviet Russia has been able to achieve impressive industrial development at the cost of tremendous sacrifice and suffering. But it is doubtful whether China can imitate Russia's example without also adopting a similiar political and economic system.

Another method is indicated in the arrangement whereby China has received a war-time loan of $45,000,000 from the United States through the Universal Trading Company. With this credit the Chinese Government buys American war materials in exchange for Chinese products. This has proved satisfactory under the present circumstances but it could hardly be applied in the realization of the vast program of Chinese reconstruction because it would be impossible for China to export enough raw materials to cover the invested capital and because the low price of Chinese products, due to the difference in wages and in currency, would result in the exploitation of the Chinese worker and in lower wages for the workers of more highly industrialized countries.

Fortunately, under the pressure of war necessity, the United Nations have applied the principle, "From each according to his capacity; to each according to his needs," in the field of international collaboration. This application is the Lend-Lease system. With great wisdom the United States and Great Britain have pledged themselves to operate this method "to promote mutually advantageous economic relations and the betterment of world-wide economic relations." Its development in the field of post-war reconstruction, and especially in the exploitation of China's natural resources, will benefit both China and the whole world.

NORWAY's *secret* WEAPON

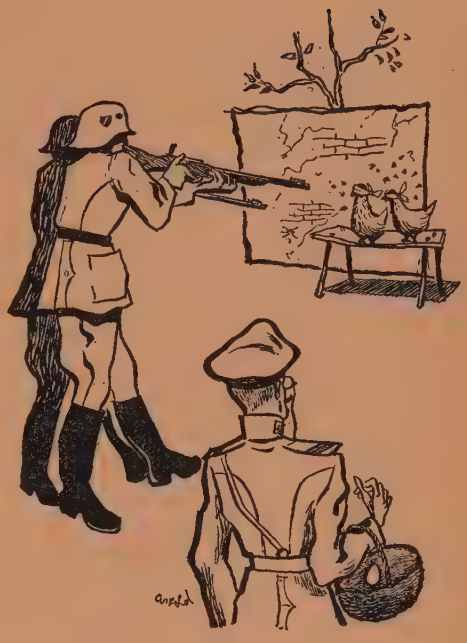
BY
KATHERINE LYON

SINCE the German occupation of their country, Norwegian athletes have refused to take part in the sports events arranged by the Nazis. Instead, they have stood on the side lines and jeered their protectors. On one occasion the Germans were giving a bad account of themselves on a difficult ski-run. As they came to a certain turn, man after man flopped over or landed in a snow bank. Watching Norwegians did not conceal their mirth; at every spill they whooped with joy. The next day a nazi decree announced: "Hereafter, it is forbidden to laugh in the civilian manner. Only a short, military ha-ha is permitted."

The Germans do not enjoy the ridicule which their efforts to befriend their northern "blood-brothers" have produced. They had hoped they might all have a good hearty laugh together at the expense of the British. Witness a plaintive paragraph in Quisling's newspaper, *Fritt Volk:* "Why should all these jokes be aimed at Germany? Would it not be more sensible to ridicule England, for never in history has John Bull appeared more confused and more laughable?" So far the Norwegians have refused to be sensible.

Among the rules of invasion etiquette with which the German soldiers were provided were suggestions for converting their "blood-brother" to nazism. The pamphlet stated: "Explain to him and convince him objectively. Humorous conversation is the most effective." The Germans have had small opportunity to try this method, however, for the Norwegians exclude them from all such jolly repartee while indulging in it enthusiastically themselves. The keen shafts and barbed wit of the Norsemen have made the German Occupation Force extremely uncomfortable.

Recently I have been at Little Norway, the training camp of the Royal Norwegian Air Force in Toronto, Canada. Here the young men who escape from Norway come for training as pilots and ground crews before they are sent to England for active service. I was



sitting with several of these student flyers at their canteen, showing them a book published by the Norwegian Press department, "He Who Laughs—Lasts." It contains cartoons, mostly by Johan Bull, illustrating some of the stories which the Norwegians have aimed at their unwelcome visitors.

"Oh, yes," one boy would say, "we have laughed about that." And another would add, "I have heard it different. This was how it was told in Bergen . . . or Oslo . . . or Trondheim." Each had some favorite of his own to tell, for that is how these anecdotes have reached America and England, through the men who have escaped.

In Norway, the stories pass up and down the country by means of the secret newspapers or chain letters which thread the valleys and mountains and towns, or, as in the days of the sagas, by word of mouth. They are told as

men meet on Karl Johan Street, as boys play in the schoolyard at recess, or as friends gather in the blacked-out drawing room over the coffee cups in which there is no longer coffee. On such occasions, the telephone nestles snugly in a tea cosy or egg-warmer so that the microphone, which may have been planted in the transmitter last week when a line man came to test the connection, will not pass on the laughter. The citizens of Oslo learned soon enough about the telephones. They do not trust operators who say *"bitte"* instead of *"vär saa god."* When using the telephone, the speaker taps gently on the transmitter to prevent a recording of the conversation. When not required, the instrument is kept well muffled.

The placards of instructions which the Nazis put up with great regularity are a temptation to Norwegian disrespect. Early in the occupation, a long list of offenses punishable by death was proclaimed in a poster beginning, "He will be shot who . . ." At that time the shortage of all foods, and especially of fresh eggs, was disturbing the citizens of Oslo, so they read with pleasure one morning, an added warning: "Any hen will be shot who does not lay two eggs a day."

Although there are penalties for tearing down or defacing these sacred pronouncements of the Nazis, such things happen. Large V's or the initials of King Haakon, H VII, appear mysteriously upon them or they vanish completely. A twelve-year-old boy came home late from school and when his mother inquired the cause of the delay, he told her he had been working on his civics lesson. "I tore down seven Nasjonal Samling posters," he said.

Small boys and sometimes larger ones use the placards to test their manly skill. A deputation of youngsters marched down the street in Bergen one day under the leadership of an energetic eleven-year-old. As they approached a Quisling poster, he gave the sharp command, "Left face. Get ready. Spit!" With perfect timing and accuracy the squad executed the order and marched briskly on to the next practice field.

II

THE Norwegians have never been taken in by nazi propaganda. They know it for what it is. As a proof of their incredulity, they tell the story of the Bergen fisherman who saw a plane shot down off the coast, and thinking it was English, put out in a boat to rescue the survivors. To the surprise of those on the shore, he rowed out to the plane, then turned around and rowed steadily back to the dock.

"What's the matter?" they asked him.

"It's a German plane," he answered.

"Yes, but isn't one of the men alive?"

"He says he is," said the fisherman with a shake of his head. "But you know how those Nazis lie. You can't believe a word they say."

The Nazis have tried to use the theater and cinema to spread their ideology, but German "guest" companies have played to empty houses and propaganda films have had small success. During a newsreel, a large-size picture of Hitler was flashed on the screen, to be met with the usual cold and clammy silence. Then a girl's voice inquired very clearly, "Who is that?" The audience roared. The lights were turned on and the girl arrested, probably to instruct her more carefully regarding the appearance of her country's benefactor. On another occasion, a film was being shown of a German ship unloading food on an Oslo pier. It was more than one observer could stand. "Hey," he called. "Stop the film. You're running it backwards."

One of the ways in which the Norwegians have baffled the Germans has been by refusing

to give them information. It has been their evident intention not to make these visitors feel at home. Road signs have been turned around and the unfamiliar traveller has often found he had gone a long way in the wrong direction. An Oslo citizen was arrested for refusing to tell a German officer how to get to Dronningens Gaten, or Queen's Street, a well-known thoroughfare. While he was in prison, he was awakened every morning at five o'clock and questioned as to the location of Queen's Street. Each day he made the same firm answer, "That must remain a secret." The Nazis were finally obliged to give it up and release him.

A German officer once stopped his car to ask a young woman, who was walking along the road, the location of a certain town.

"Is it permitted to answer in English?" asked the girl.

"Of course," said the officer eagerly.

"I don't know," said the girl and walked on.

A boy told me he was on a street car in the black-out when a German was trying to discover where he should get off to reach his barracks. No one in the car seemed to understand what he wanted. Finally a kind-hearted old lady took pity on him and said it was the next stop. After he had disembarked, she looked triumphantly about a car rocking with laughter. She had put him off ten blocks short of his destination.

It may have been the same old lady who was on a ferry crossing from Piperviken with a group of German soldiers. They were singing lustily their favorite song, "We're sailing against England." When she had listened to several repetitions of it, the old lady touched the leader on the sleeve. "Look here," she said, "you'll have to take another boat, you know. This one only goes to Bygdö."

The Norwegians have deeply resented this marching song of the Germans. One young flyer told me of transporting prisoners to England on a boat. "Now you *are* going to England," they were informed. "Why don't you sing?" The Germans were not enthusiastic, but the Norwegians insisted they sing for their passage across the North Sea.

Many of the Germans have prepared for the invasion of England by acquiring all the English tweed to be found in Norway. They have the greatest respect for honest English wool. A slightly tipsy Norwegian got on a street car and sat beside a German who was wearing an obviously new suit of English material. The others in the car were delighted when he stroked the German's sleeve appreciatively and exclaimed, "Such beautiful English stuff! Wherever did you get it?"

The manner in which the Germans have bought up furs and handwork and wool has irked the public. Some Norwegians have made money selling silver fox furs to decorate the wives of the invaders, but their prosperity is regarded as only temporary for they are not being allowed food to care for a new stock of animals. Moreover, the money now in use has been printed by the Germans and is looked upon as worthless. "The only free press in Norway," said an aviator with a bitter smile, "is the money press." Another remarked that the entire cost of rebuilding Bodö, a town destroyed by German bombs, was said to be 84 öre, or about twenty cents. This, he explained, was the cost of oiling the printing presses, but did not include the price of the paper, which was probably stolen.

The Norwegians have always used a great deal of metal money as their unit is the krone (twenty-five cents) made up of 100 öre. The Germans commandeered this metal and coins became exceedingly scarce. All my friends had stories to tell of the inconveniences caused by this lack of change. To overcome the shortage, the Germans printed paper money in small denominations, but they soon regretted this munificent concession. As soon as a Norwegian received a piece of this tempting paper, he wrote on it, "God Save the King" and other sentiments displeasing to the new Government. Every Norwegian through whose hands the money passed added his testimony until the Germans had to issue another order refusing to honor any more manuscript money.

III

THE Nazis have tried by every means possible to erase the memory of the King and the Royal Family from the minds of the people. They go to ridiculous lengths to avoid mention of the former ruler. His name was early taken from the sardine can and from a confection. Bread cards stamped with the royal initials were soon suppressed. When the new Oslo telephone directory appeared this year, it was found to contain several listings for the Royal Palace, among them numbers for adjutants of the King and Crown Prince. The

distribution of the directory was held up until the pages could be destroyed and new ones printed without the offending items. The Norwegians try just as earnestly to keep the beloved names before the public. In a lottery held near Bergen, the name on the winning ticket was Prince Harald, the five-year-old son of the Crown Prince. Who put it there, no one knew, but from the satisfaction of those who heard it read out, anyone might have been responsible.

The children have been especially fierce in their devotion and loyalty to their King. In one school a teacher assigned subjects in composition which she thought might be safely read by the nazi *Kommissar* of education, with surprising results. One boy wrote on The Cow. "When King Haakon was King in Norway, all the cows had all the food they wanted, and of the best. Now that Quisling is in power, they have only cellulose, which is very unpalatable." A little girl's essay on Cats began, "When King Haakon VII was King of Norway, all the cats were happy."

A severe censorship is exercised over the written and spoken words of adults too. No mention must be made of shipping losses due to enemy action. A Norwegian captain, whose boat had been sunk along the coast, was being questioned at a military investigation. He testified that a British submarine had risen to the surface, given the crew ten minutes to get into the lifeboats, and then sunk the ship. A German officer interrupted him: "That's nonsense. There are no British submarines along the coast." The captain stuck to his story, but the German refused to accept it.

"Very well, then," said the captain, and revised his testimony for the record. "A mine came to the surface on the starboard side. It halted us, gave us ten minutes to get into the lifeboats, then ran smack into the ship and sank it."

The press suffers the most from this censorship. As one newspaper stated inconspicuously, "That which we speak is but a fraction of what we think." Editors are among the most arrested people in Norway. They must print no news which sounds favorable to the British. When the English raided a west coast town, the official nazi dispatch read, "Only a cow was killed." But an added comment told the story. "The cow burned for two days."

Most Norwegians feel badly that Knut Hamsun should have accepted nazi protection with such complacency. They try to excuse it on the grounds of his extreme age. "He is so old," they say pityingly. Before the invasion Hamsun wrote in a Norwegian paper, "We Norwegians do not wish to fall under the domination of a foreign power. Thus, more and more, our hopes turn toward Germany." A Norwegian commented drily, "He has been accommodated." When Hamsun espoused the nazi cause, these two advertisements appeared in an Oslo paper: "For sale dirt cheap, the works of Knut Hamsun." And, "Bargain, one fine gold frame, picture of Knut Hamsun thrown in."

A pink-cheeked boy told me how the university students had walked past Hamsun's house and contemptuously tossed his books over the garden fence. With a wry smile he added, "We say that when Hamsun made his will he left 'Growth of the Soil' and 'Victoria' to Germany, but to Norway he gave 'Hunger.'"

The few Norwegians who support the Quisling Government come in for much scorn. Jonas Lie, the Minister of Police, is always referred to as Judas Lie, and the Constituted State Councillors are the "prostituted" councillors. Because no responsible Norwegian will accept a post in the government, some unusual appointments have been made. Loyal supporters of the King like to refer to a dentist in the Administration as "False Teeth *Kommissar,*" a butcher as "Lard Marshall," and a dairyman as "Cream Hitler." Sverre Riisnais, who came from "nowhere" to assume the position of Minister of Justice, is called Donald Duck. Recently Donald Duck called a well-known Oslo attorney into his office. He charged the attorney with being anti-nazi. "Your license to practice law has been revoked for life," he said.

The attorney looked him coldly in the eye. "For whose life?" he inquired.

When the German warship, the "Blücher," was sunk at the beginning of the invasion, such Germans as were saved, spent long hours in the water waiting for rescue. Months later, a Norwegian youth asked a German to explain the decoration he was wearing. "I got that for being on the 'Blücher,'" said the German.

"Oh, yes," answered the Norwegian. "We have such awards too, but we call them swimming medals."

Naturally, the most conspicuous target for these jokes is Quisling himself. Now that he has been made Prime Minister, a new crop

may be expected. He has taken up his residence in a palatial mansion at Bygdö, equipped with a bomb cellar and re-enforced walls. "He has a speaking acquaintance with his neighbors," I was told. "He spoke and they all moved away." As a matter of fact, eight nearby houses were ordered evacuated as a safety precaution. The most charitable view the Norwegians take of him is that he is insane. He sometimes wears a flamboyant uniform and conducts himself like a second edition of *der Fuehrer*. Vidkun has become as hated a name as Adolf.

A farmer, named Vidkun Purkerud, which might be freely translated as Pigsrump, applied to the court to have his name changed, as it was so disgusting.

"I can quite understand," said the court sympathetically. "To what are you going to change it?"

"To *Olaf* Purkerud," answered the farmer.

While we were laughing over that, one of the Norwegian boys said to me very seriously. "They say they now have a postage stamp with Quisling on it. That will make all the Norwegians happy. Do you know why?" I shook my head. "Because," he continued joyously, "they will all spit on the wrong side."

When the Germans occupied Norway, they seized all guns and ammunition, leaving the Norwegians no armaments with which to fight. But they failed to confiscate two important Norwegian defenses, their love of freedom and their indomitable spirit. The Norwegians, too, have a secret weapon. It is laughter—and no "short, military ha-ha" about it, either.

Popular Feeling in GREAT BRITAIN

BY H. BISHAM-HOLMES

SIGNIFICANT changes are taking place in the minds of the British people. They are changing their attitude toward the two major political parties. They are discontented with the Government's reluctance to conscript wealth and property in the service of the nation on the same "total war" basis as man power has been conscripted. They show increasing interest in the Soviet Union's economic and political system. This is due to their unstinted admiration for the fighting ability of the Russian armies against Hitler's mighty forces. The British people are well-satisfied with Mr. Churchill as the Premier who symbolizes their will and determination to crush the Nazis. They are deeply grateful for the consummate genius he showed in knitting the nation together in its greatest peril after the collapse of France, during the Battle for Britain, and since. They recall his prophetic warnings in the evil days of Chamberlain's appeasement. None doubts his determination to win the war at no matter what cost.

But when Mr. Churchill speaks of fighting for "a traditional Britain" and of the Conservative party as the "rock" on which the nation's salvation rests, it raises doubts as to whether he rightly understands the temper of a great proportion of Britons and especially of the younger men and women. They wonder whether he is in complete sympathy with their determination to build a society founded on

full economic and social democracy instead of accepting a continuation of the present purely political democracy plus merely patchwork reforms. For the British masses 'a traditional Britain' in peace time means continued unemployment, insecurity, malnutrition, low standards of education, slums, the evils of poverty, and, above all, the perpetual threat of war. They see the great vested interests such as mines, engineering plants, chemical industries, railways, and foodstuff mills remaining as private monopolies and actually being strengthened by carefully devised schemes of compensation and insurance. It means, too, that when peace comes and reconstruction starts, domestic exploitation and the denial of economic democracy will continue. And they question how, with the entrenching of big business in international trade, Great Britain will fulfill the objectives of the Atlantic Charter which promise "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement, and security."

In regards to Britain's present war effort there is a widespread conviction that despite the steps taken by the Churchill Government to tighten control of all the business and industrial activities of the nation, the principle of equal contribution from all quarters has not yet been ruthlessly applied. People in the workshops, shipyards, and mines realize that production could be greater if the many hindrances connected with private property and monopoly interests were abolished. That is why the Mineworkers' Federation, which failed in its demand for wartime national ownership of coal mines in order to increase output and general efficiency is now asking, as an alternative, for the establishment of a National Mining Council representing the State, owners, and miners, and armed with executive power. The Federation believes that such a step may stop the working of poor seams so as to save the better ones for post-war profits and may lead to a decision on the question of which pits to keep open and which to close for the duration because of labor shortage and other abuses. There is bitterness because the will of the people to defeat Hitler is being handicapped by undue tenderness shown to vested interests.

The recent demand by the economist, Sir William Beveridge, for a new era of total effort by all and privileges for none with a scrapping of the party system of government, the profits system, and autonomous trade unions for the duration, if the war is to be won, has made a great impression in Great Britain and is symptomatic of what people are thinking. The suggestion that the trade unions "should become, after the Russian model, conscious agents of national policy" is not feasible unless Mr. Churchill were to resign leadership of the Conservative party and the Premiership, and by invitation, form a truly national instead of a coalition government. It must be remembered that Mr. Churchill always has to bear in mind the wishes of the Conservative party and its more than two-thirds majority in the House of Commons—and it is the popular impression that this House no longer represents the dominant political views of the nation. There is no sign at present that Mr. Churchill contemplates such a move.

The British people have not forgotten the disastrous record of the Conservative party in Government before the war and up to the fall of Chamberlain. They are not inspired by spokesmen of the Conservative party today. They distrust its negative attitude toward taking steps *now* for building a system that will abolish the evils of the unplanned competitive pre-war world when peace comes. The Conservatives still favor private control of the vital needs of the nation such as coal, electric power, transport, the building industry, agriculture and banking. In other words, they and their representatives in the Government and Parliament are not prepared to say that there is need for fundamental changes in the economic system, need for planned production under State supervision with complete democratic control, to assure a decent standard of life for the people as a whole. But the common man in Great Britain, as all over the world, is beginning to understand that he is not free unless the State wields its powers to make economic security and the welfare of all citizens its paramount purposes.

The inclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps in the Cabinet was an astute move by Mr. Churchill. It met with opposition from die-hards and certain labor leaders who had supported Sir Stafford's expulsion from the Labor party. His opinions and record in the past in both domestic and world politics, his thoroughly realistic attitude toward Russia, and his in-

dependence of political parties have won him the confidence of a very large section of the nation. Sir William Jowitt's appointment to the Cabinet was also wise. He, like Cripps, has been a rebel in politics. He is to have charge of organizing and co-ordinating plans for post-war reconstruction. A similar indication of the response by the Government to popular feeling that the Established Church should take a lead in calling for far-reaching social and economic reforms is evident in the recent naming of Dr. William Temple, Archbishop of York, to the vacancy at Canterbury. Dr. Temple was chosen from among several other possible nominees, any one of whom would have been more pleasing to reactionary elements in government, ecclesiastical, and political circles where he is regarded as "too daring," for it is realized that the Archbishop of Canterbury can bring considerable influence to bear upon the determination of national affairs. The Tories first took alarm early last year when Dr. Temple summoned the Malvern Conference which declared capitalistic society to be incompatible with a Christian order and demanded wide changes. Since then, Dr. Temple has not ceased to declare publicly his advocacy of a new political system that will abolish the shocking contrast of great wealth and great poverty and the appalling waste in potentially good human material which is concomitant with the existence of masses of under-privileged men, women, and children.

II

THE Labor party's interim report on war and peace reconstruction virtually runs counter to the program of the Conservative party. In addition to the needed changes for adapting society to the full possibilities of democratic life, the report calls for measures to provide full employment, adequate social services to secure health, nutrition, care in old age for all citizens, and full educational opportunities for all. It is stressed that as a necessary prerequisite to the reorganization of society the main wartime controls in industry, shipping, and agriculture should be maintained "to avoid the scramble for profits which followed the last war." To prevent dislocation in the change-over from war to peace, it urges that plans should now be prepared for the rapid transfer of labor and materials to peacetime requirements with an extension of social services to "make generous provisions for workers and their families who await reabsorption into industry and agriculture." The retirement of older workers on adequate pensions is also advocated. That the under-privileged may play a more adequate part in the life of the nation in the future, the school-leaving age is to be raised to fifteen, and to sixteen within three years of the end of hostilities, with maintenance allowances for parents of children retained at school. The report also sets forth that the machinery of central and local government, both legislative and administrative, must be revised in order to adapt it to fit the new order. The representative system and parliamentary control must be made more effective. In the imperial field, the Labor party agrees that while the complex issues of Indian self-government should await the close of the war, Indians must be given full responsibility of self-government now and take their place alongside Dominion leaders in the war efforts of the United Nations.* The peace to follow complete victory, it is emphasized, must make it impossible for the aggressor nations to use war as an instrument of national policy. Britain must agree with her Allies, especially the Soviet Union and the United States, upon a common purpose in formulating peace. In keeping with the Labor party's traditional support of collective security, the report insists that adequate international machinery must be organized to protect nations against aggression, and that there must be socialization of the main means of production in each country to maintain peace.

Labor's aims voice what is in the minds of great masses of the British people. The weakness of the party lies in the people's attitude toward its leaders. They recall that not so long ago Mr. Bevin asserted that planned and all-round compulsion was un-British and that this greatly encouraged the reactionary forces. This attitude by Mr. Bevin and official Labor has, of course, been greatly modified step by step, but it is plain that compulsion has been put on the workers and the "little men" to a far greater degree than on property and capital. The Labor leaders in the Government are severely criticized for failing to press for increasingly democratic war sacrifices and measures with no more respect for property

*The Report was issued before the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations for Indian independence.

than for persons. Their timidity from fear of destroying unity in the nation and Government is held to be jeopardizing effective vital state controls in favor of sectional controls. And this, when peace comes, may encourage big business to thwart a sane, international and planned system of economic development. The Labor leaders are silent about control of the credit mechanism and land ownership where they conflict with the nation's paramount interests. It is notable that the Planning and Amenities Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects in a report on post-war reconstruction reaches the conclusion that the public ownership of all land may be necessary for rebuilding Britain.

A great many in the ranks of the eight million men and women who voted Labor and a proportion of the ten million who supported the Conservatives in the 1935 general election are dissatisfied with either their political representatives or their party's policies. A feeling is noticeable among the people (in numerous letters to the press, published articles, and conversation) of impatience with party politics in national affairs, conducting the war, and planning for peace. In this respect it must be remembered that there will be a great body of youthful voters in the next general election who have never voted before or had serious party affiliations. There is much talk among people of all ages who feel the need for a new form of political organization, though what form it might take is still nebulous in their minds.

The growing impatience with political parties as now constituted and party politics which led to a party truce for the duration, thus enabling vacancies to be filled by the party that held the parliamentary seat previously, has been drastically demonstrated by the defeat of two government-supported conservative candidates by two independents. This was in by-elections caused by the elevation to the peerage of Captain David Margesson and Lieutenant-Colonel John T. C. Moore-Brabizon. The successful contestants, being independents, campaigned without party funds or backing of any kind. Both were "leftists" and had been expelled by the Labor party for their so-called extreme views. The winning candidates were William John Brown, a trade-unionist, at Rugby, and G. L. Reakes, a journalist, at Wallasey. The election of these new M.Ps. was a heavy blow to the Conservative party and Labor party machines. Both men, however, support Mr. Churchill though they are critical of the conduct of the war, voice the impatience of the British people for the opening of a second front, and share popular suspicion that the Prime Minister is inclined, out of personal loyalty, to shield incompetent ministers. In Mr. Brown's own words: "I won because people were sick and tired of party machines which took us into the war unprepared, and have led us from disaster to disaster since, and because there is deep uneasiness in all classes about the obvious inadequacy of the political set-up. The people gave me a message to Churchill that he should free himself from the party prison and should put his foot down on privileged inefficiency in high places." Mr. Reakes said that his election was a victory for Churchill but that while supporting the Government, he would offer constructive criticism.

I have spoken of the interest in the Soviet Union. This is noticeable in the ranks of the services, especially in the Army, and everywhere among the civil population. In all classes there is gratitude to the U. S. S. R. for saving Britain and the United Nations in Europe from possible defeat. There is not much conscious interest in communism as such. But curiosity is shown as to how the Soviet Union has succeeded in building up a mighty army, air force, and industries, to say nothing of a formidable navy, in twenty-five years, starting from less than scratch. The question is asked: Has it been due to their political and economic system? The ability of the peoples of the Soviet Union to fight "all-out" is envied by Englishmen. While it is plain that love of their homes and native soil are important factors in sustaining the morale and fighting powers of the Union's soldiers, guerrillas, and civilians, it is felt that they fight for something more, and that is a political and economic system which, on the whole, they thoroughly believe in. There are no divided loyalties to speak of on that score. Englishmen cannot say this of themselves. Like the Russians, they fight for civilization, to crush nazism and fascizm, and for love of their land, but unlike their Russian allies, they do not all fight for a political and economic system they have faith in. The demand in Great Britain for great changes making for more real democracy is proof of this. This demand will grow stronger with time.

PAN-AMERICANISM AT THE CROSSROADS

BY ENRIQUE S. DE LOZADA

HISTORICALLY, Pan-Americanism has not been a phenomenon detached from the tendencies of world affairs. On the contrary, it has been conditioned by international events, despite the alleged economic objectives of its founder, James G. Blaine, and the strong isolationist tendencies of the United States. Pan-Americanism might be defined as regional internationalism well integrated within the trends of world internationalism. This unprecedented phenomenon in international relations has lasted for over fifty years without interruption. The continuity of Pan-Americanism, despite strong adverse trends in world affairs, leads us to believe that, unlike the relations of nations in other parts of the world, the relationships between the states of this hemisphere have a strong common ground. They must satisfy certain common interests, otherwise Pan-Americanism would not have continued to exist.

At first glance, the Monroe Doctrine could be taken as the factor that fostered, if it did not create, this continental tendency. But this possibility has to be discarded, since from its inception the other American republics feared the Doctrine and repudiated it. Furthermore, Pan-Americanism runs counter to the exclusivist tendencies of the Monroe Doctrine. Nevertheless, one could still claim that in the realm of power politics the Monroe Doctrine was a great protective force that made possible the consolidation of the American system of nations. But here again the assertion does not conform to the facts of history.

The cohesive elements of Pan-Americanism must be sought not in political circles, but in spheres of greater permanency, such as the relationship of population to land, and more precisely, to natural wealth. Without doubt the new hemisphere is fortunate in this respect as compared to Europe and Asia. This physical factor, moreover, is coupled with a vastly important psychological factor: the Americas, more than any other part of the world, have been the meeting ground of all races and nationalities. In an international sense, this coexistence has created the essential democratic element of toleration. Such an assertion stands with full validity for our purposes even against racial discriminations peculiar to some parts of the New World.

The comparative freedom from economic problems of an imperative nature plus the spirit of toleration among groups of separate religions, languages, and traditions are the principal influences which have fostered idealism among the people of this hemisphere. The above-mentioned circumstances constitute without a doubt the factors favorable to the development of internationalism. Of course, such factors exist in potential in all parts of the world, but their concurrence among the American states has resulted in a persistent effort toward this regional internationalism.

Some interesting differences of attitude between the United States and the other American republics are revealed in the very beginning of the mechanics of Pan-Americanism. The United States has been more preoccupied with economic issues and freedom of action, and the other American republics have been pressing at all times for the establishment and consecration of juridical rules. It is logical that, as comparatively weak nations, they should try to shield themselves with the moral strength contributed by the juridical rules of international intercourse. However, this struggle is not one between two tendencies wholly antagonistic. As a matter of fact, both parties partake of these two elements in varying degrees. This interplay has been conditioned by

extra-American forces, as can be seen in the ups and downs of Pan-Americanism during the eight Pan-American conferences.

The point of departure of Pan-Americanism is Bolivarian idealism, which from 1826 to 1888 developed, as it were, underground. Then came Blaine, who though not lacking in idealism, may well have had as a primary objective the creation of an instrument for the furtherance of the economic interests of the United States among the other American republics as against the interests of the other great powers. The fact remains, however, that he had to employ the idealistic vision of Bolivar for the cultivation of closer relations of whatever nature. Blaine's form of Pan-Americanism was in reality only a channel through which the old Bolivarian idealism flowed. From the early independence to the time of the first Pan-American Conference, there were strong forces moving toward some regional unity, such as Ibero-Americanism, Latino-Americanism, and Indo-Americanism. Pan-Americanism prevailed despite its many rivals because its idealism rested on a firmer ground. It prevailed even despite the fear that its champion, the United States, was a greater menace in terms of power-politics than Spain and France, the champions of some of the other tendencies. It was in 1888 that Blaine, spurred on by his failure as a peacemaker in the War of the Pacific, conceived and carried out an idea intended to transcend that unfortunate historical episode. He obtained authorization from Congress for the first Pan-American Conference. The aims of the conference, as stated by the Act of Congress and authorized by President Arthur, are so clear and wide in their scope that they still constitute the basic program of Pan-Americanism. They proposed (1) measures that tend to preserve the peace and permit the prosperity of the American states and (2) measures toward the formation of an American Customs Union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted.

Thus Pan-Americanism was launched into the agitated currents of the national interests of the twenty-one American republics as well as into the cross-currents of world events. Up to the present time, it has proven that it is made of material elastic enough to resist the onslaughts of diversionist forces. Slowly but steadily it is taking a definite shape.

The first Pan-American Conference convened in Washington in 1889, under the leadership of the United States, the various republics participating with enthusiasm. The Second Conference at Mexico City in 1901 was something of an anti-climax, as were the Rio Conference in 1906 and that at Buenos Aires in 1910. Without doubt, these three conferences marked the lowest ebb of Pan-Americanism. Not only were their achievements negative, but there was a noticeable laxity of spirit. It should be noted that this period coincided with a quiet interlude in world affairs, 1901-1910, when no great forces were in conflict.

The period after the first World War ushered in a new phase of Pan-Americanism, more aggressive and dynamic. The United States faced the problem of competition with the League of Nations. The other American republics, stronger because of the existence of the League, felt capable of opposing the United States, and even of wresting from her more substantial concessions in juridical organization and economic conditions. The climax of this period came at the Havana Conference in 1928, evidenced by two basic issues of disagreement between the United States and the other American republics: (1) the notion of intervention, and (2) the excessive trade barriers of the U.S.A.

II

THE world crisis in 1930 gave a new complexion to Pan-Americanism. The Conference of Montevideo in 1933 will remain as an epoch-making gathering. The victory of juridical equality was established when Secretary Hull accepted without qualification the notion of non-intervention. Another important step was taken when the bilateral trade agreement policy was initiated by Mr. Hull. This was a step toward curing the paralysis of trade caused by ultra-nationalistic economic practices. These two factors gave tangible support to the Good Neighbor policy, first introduced at this conference.

The outstanding aspect of this change in the attitude of the United States was that for the first time in the history of international relations the foreign policy of a great power was inspired by the same philosophy that guided its domestic policies. Through such action the greatest obstacle for orderly international relations was overcome, at least in principle. Up to that time, all the great powers

had blindly directed their policies toward weakening or hindering the development of other powers, particularly if they were smaller. The Good Neighbor policy recognized that the world is a functional unity, one part of which cannot enjoy a healthy life while others are crippled and decayed. It proclaimed the only foundation upon which a legal international system can exist: the notion of solidarity, resulting from positive inter-dependence.

The Good Neighbor policy, which is a true and genuine corollary of the New Deal, injected a fundamental value into Pan-Americanism. President Roosevelt's philosophy, so directly concerned with the common man, brought into Pan-Americanism that dynamic democratic notion of the betterment of the common lot. Perhaps it would be beter to say that it renewed human values, the true concern of every democratic system. This has been asserted many times by President Roosevelt, but the mere assertion would not be valid proof that true concern for human values has really entered into Pan-Americanism. The real proof of their incorporation into this regional endeavor is the fact that for the first time Pan-Americanism became the concern of the common individual in the other American republics. Previously, it had been a game played by diplomats or by a few outstanding politicians. It had never been the concern of the common politician, much less the common individual. However, the Good Neighbor Policy can never be separated from the various preceding phases of Pan-Americanism. It provided a psychological receptiveness which, incidentally, is more marked in the other American republics than in the United States.

At present, for the purpose of building a sound and working regional unity, we have a sustained tradition of having attempted to create such a unity for over fifty years; we have the great, the popular, and the profoundly democratic conviction that such an attempt is desirable; and we have a juridical structure that, although weak, nevertheless has a working capacity.

With these three assets, the twenty-one peoples of the Americas face a most uncertain world—a world engaged in a deathly struggle for the preservation of the philosophy that has created this modicum of international order. Therefore, the questions before us now are these:

1. Will the war overshadow Pan-Americanism and perhaps relegate to oblivion the only significant achievement of democracy in the realm of international relations?

2. Will this crisis be a powerful force that will strengthen an international system evolved in the Americas and thereby cause it to be a pattern for the future world order?

The most obvious risk is that the intensity of the armed struggle will create illusory bonds. Although these may unite different parts of the world against a common foe, they can never serve to cement an enduring international system since according to history, alliances have seldom outlived the circumstances that have determined them. In any case, there would again be the necessity of creating a balance of power. Pan-Americanism on the other hand, seems to have created an order regardless of a balance of power. This would tend to prove that there is such a thing as organized interdependence of states, irrespective of their strength or weakness.

The experience of the League of Nations shows two fundamental weaknesses in any international effort toward world organization. First, the lack of a moderating force; second, the lack of previous experience in regional terms. Pan-Americanism could play the part of moderator for the world by uniting in an organized manner the twenty-one countries of this hemisphere. No other region of the world could assume the role of moderator, which might easily be confused with that of hegemony. Avoiding any attempt at creating a regional autarchy, we should, nevertheless, continue a policy of interdependence insofar as it is economically sound to do so. The weakest and the most crucial point in Inter-American relationships is the solution of our economic problems.

The war, of course, is bringing about closer economic relationships in this hemisphere. Unfortunately, most of them are of an unhealthy character. For example, there is a great increase in the production of raw materials in the other American republics. This increase has amplified existing inequalities in the distribution of the limited man power of these countries, which are dependent on the outside world not only for capital and manufactured goods but also for foodstuffs. At present, because of the war, a large number of workers have been diverted to the production of strategic raw materials. The situation is further aggravated by the shortage of transportation

facilities, thus preventing a much-needed increase in the importation of essential goods, particularly of foodstuffs. Serious social strains may occur, creating difficulties not only in the production of strategic raw materials but also in destruction of the psychological receptiveness of the masses to the Good Neighbor policy and Pan-Americanism.

It is essential, therefore, that even during the critical years of the war, the United States should maintain in those countries a modicum of economic stability. Popular acceptance of Pan-Americanism is at present far greater in the other American republics than in the United States. However, the sufferings caused by wartime economic dislocations may seriously diminish the enthusiasm for Pan-Americanism among the common people. Therefore, in order to maintain and strengthen this friendly feeling, the United States should demonstrate in a practical way the essential philosophy of the Good Neighbor policy, that is to say, its interests in the well-being of the people. This could be crystallized through the financing by the United States of public works, particularly health or sanitation projects. Naturally, preference should be given to projects that do not require strategic raw materials.

The inter-governmental loan system initiated in the last decade should be carried on much more intensively and in more liberal terms so as to accelerate the economic and social development of these countries. This does not necessarily mean an abandonment of private enterprise. Such inter-governmental financing could be devoted exclusively to the realm of public works so as to create a healthy condition for private industrial investments. These should be carefully planned in order to avoid a strain upon the weak economic systems of the other American republics. Government help should be given to corporations formed by North and South Americans working in partnership, so as to increase the economic solidarity of the two continents.

It is pertinent to point out in this connection that the North American businessman thinks of the evolution of South American economies in terms of his own country's experiences. There is a fundamental difference between the two. While the United States of America was a debtor nation, it was also receiving a great flow of immigrants, and therefore had a corresponding expanding internal economy that fixed the benefits of foreign capital within the country itself. In the case of the South American countries, even in countries like Argentina, the flow of immigrants was much smaller. The foreign capital invested always derived its profit not from internal development but purely from increased exports of raw materials. This condition can be remedied by a very drastic limitation in the returns which the foreign investor may expect. On the other hand, this limitation will be compensated by a greater certainty that his investments will be sound. Such a result can be obtained only if there is a sound inter-governmental financial policy that will increase the per capita yield and also the increase of the population. On the surface, a policy of this kind might seem one-sided and unfavorable to the interests of the United States. Nevertheless, it is the only policy that can guarantee a mutually beneficial, long-range economic relationship between the United States and the other American republics. This is the test Pan-Americanism faces now.

SHEEP'S CLOTHING

Over his nostrils hangs the woolly pelt,
But he is patient till he almost smother;
And there are many lambkins who have felt
And loved his fangs and thought he was their mother.

WITTER BYNNER

La Hispanidad *in* Hitler's Service

By
Ovidio Gondi

THERE has been much talk in the daily press about the activities of the Spanish Falange in Latin America. Rarely, however, has anyone succeeded in picturing the really grave danger represented by the activities of France's agents. Their power for evil has been so underestimated that in some cases they were officially granted facilities for travel and work in the various South American countries rarely enjoyed by European and Spanish anti-Fascists. The activities of the Falange in Latin America represent, nevertheless, the projection of an effort covering all fields, from the philosophico-religious to the political and economic, an effort which is at least as dangerous as the same type of penetration by agents directly under Hitler's orders.

The Nazi-Falangist partnership operated at first through a multitude of private committees. These performed fairly important functions for a while but were gradually replaced by actual inter-governmental agencies. Among the latter is included the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin, which was founded by Dr. Otto Boerlitz in 1929 as a cultural institution and existed in a modest fashion during the Weimar Republic on a small subsidy from the German Government. The character of the Institute was completely transformed upon Hitler's advent to power. Wilhelm von Faupel, a man of dynamic energy, was appointed to aid Boerlitz. He had traveled widely through South America as adviser to the Argentine Army and as organizer of the Peruvian Army. These positions enabled him to make studies of a military, cultural, and economic nature in several Latin American countries.

In 1933, the Germano-Ibero-American Society, as well as the Ibero-American Institutes of Hamburg and Würzburg, were created through his efforts. The fact that Germany was cultivating relations with what was then republican Spain served to veil the imperialistic totalitarian purpose of these agencies. The Instituto Ibero-Americano in turn founded the Instituto Teuto-Brasileiro of Rio Janeiro, the Institución Cultural Germano-Argentina of Buenos Aires, and the Institutos Culturales Chileno-Germanos of Valparaiso and Santiago, Chile. There followed a period of growing prosperity up to the declaration of war in 1939. Until then, the aviation companies, with their regular service between Germany and South America and their affiliated airlines, established in various Latin-American countries under the direction of German experts, served as perfect conduits for the transmission of von Faupel's ideas.

General von Faupel abandoned his activities in the Instituto Ibero-Americano for a while, in order to take the post as ambassador to Salamanca, the capital of the Franco *Junta*. Active and fanatical, he there assiduously cultivated the friendship of the Falangists. The Spanish Civil War, which became almost immediately one of German invasion, decisively changed the activities of the Instituto Ibero-Americano of Berlin and its branches. German embassies on the entire American continent became centers of Franco propaganda. It was this propaganda which made the world believe that the Spanish Republicans were a band of brigands and communists. Its effectiveness was so great that its traces remain even today. It was during the Civil War that the bases of nazi-falangist collaboration were really established.

The thoroughgoing German technique soon discovered weakness in the ideological and cultural background of the Falange doctrinaires.

The resentment of those who had failed in the fields of letters and philosophy, the ambition and impatience of the intellectual prodigies who received nothing from the Spanish Republic which would satisfy their reckless eagerness to mount upon the national stage, were skilfully exploited by the agents of Hitler. Thus, for example, Republican intellectuals of the type of Eugenio Montes, Giménez Caballero, Sánchez Mazas, Dionisio Ridruejo were treated with special courtesy by the German ambassador. They were invited to make long trips through Germany, were received and personally accompanied by Goebbels, and were entrusted with cultural missions based upon a community of political and historical ideals. The results were soon felt. Falangist publications launched a ferocious campaign against what is dearest to Spaniards; their independence.

From the twenty-third to the twenty-sixth of October, 1941, Goebbels held at Weimar a great congress of the New Totalitarian Europe. The minister of propaganda was host to the members of the congress and opened its debates. Writers were present from all Europe except England and Russia. It was on this occasion that Giménez Caballero first made ostentatious display of the falangist mentality. In his own words, the gathering had no other object than "to give battle to old spiritual organizations of the democratic world."

II

FALANGIST propaganda in Latin America developed in two phases. Up to the beginning of the second World War, it was under the jurisdiction of Falange Exterior, the organization called upon to execute and implement the "will to empire." This type of propaganda was naturally in charge of the group most closely linked to Germany. Except the official publications edited by the Provincial Falange (all the American nations are Provinces under Franco's theory), it laid the greatest stress on the traditional connection between Spain and each Latin American country. Spanish tradition, Spanish language, Spanish culture, the disinterested love which many Spanish American intellectuals feel for Spain, all were exploited to the full, and always so indirectly as scarcely to leave a trace.

Another type of propaganda, directed toward Spaniards resident in Latin America, took the form of a threat to their economic interests. Still another, and the most important, is that which exalts the Hispanic character of the peoples of Latin America, and this mission is in the hands of Latin American intellectuals who are partisans of the Franco dictatorship in Spain. The cardinal rule of propaganda among resident Spaniards is contained in the words of Sánchez Mazas, who was the first director of falangist activities abroad: "Create division among Spaniards hostile to the Falange. Give the greatest possible active political aid *to the national fascist organizations* of the country where you are." The falangist propaganda for Spaniards was distributed in printed form, or passed by word of mouth in recreational societies. Among the instructions circulated by the Falange Exterior in 1939 was one as follows: "Where there are no official falangist groups, they must be created by one means or another, and their connection must be hidden under the name of Hearths of Spain, Houses of Spain, or some similar name, in those countries whose governments are not inclined to tolerate official Falange activity."

The second phase appeared in a new plan of propaganda on the outbreak of war in 1939. It was necessary to create new instruments. Wilhelm von Faupel, as the leading spirit of the institutos Ibero-Americanos of Germany, Otto Boerlitz, and Karl Heinrich Panhorts, general secretary of the Berlin Institute, took advantage of Serrano Suñer's visit to the German capital to place before him a series of concrete projects. It is said that on this occasion the so-called Consejo de Hispanidid (Hispanidad Council) was born. It was given legal form by the law "Española" in November, 1940. Later came the creation of the Asociación Hispano-Germana, as a direct link between Berlin and Madrid. Thus the Falange Exterior proceeded to limit itself to purely political activities and the Hispanidad Council took charge of all phases of the cultural war.

The law promulgated by Franco in respect to the Hispanidad Council was followed by various activities. Typical were journeys of well-known Falangists to Latin America, either on official missions, like the one for the Pizarro Centenary in Peru, or in a private capacity, as in the case of José María Pemán's visit to Argentina and Uruguay. Other acts indicating sympathy toward the countries of this continent served as feelers to guide them

in their broader efforts. Before the celebration of the fiestas in Lima in honor of the Conquistador Pizarro, the Chancellor of the Hispanidad Council, Manuel Halcón, delivered to the diplomatic representative of Peru the sword that the Spanish captain had wielded.

On the twenty-ninth of July, Halcón sent to Mexico and to other Latin-American countries letters of invitation to the first meeting of the Hispanidad Council. From the moment of the creation of the Hispanidad Council, falangist activities in Latin America assumed a new aspect. Again, in the literature of the Hispaniolizers there appeared the topics of "Spanish blood" and "Hispanic culture" and always with the same object: to strengthen Franco's position, holding him up to Spanish Americans as the most authentic representative of things essentially Hispanic. At the same time, the falangist campaign began to center upon the topic of "spiritual empire." The contradictions in all its activities become evident, and its real intentions in speaking of the spiritual empire of Hispanicism cannot be hidden. What they want is economic control and political power, as they so often say, and as Franco himself enacted into the law which created the Hispanidad Council.

When Franco was invested with the Gran Cruz Laureada de San Fernando, the highest military distinction in Spain, he made a speech in which he demanded that Spaniards forget a life of comfort in order to achieve political unity with imperial objectives as its end. "For the battle is not yet over," he explained. "We must bring about the unity of Spain, and once that unity is achieved, we must *again spread through the world* the unity of the Cross by means of *our warriors.*" And Arriba, the personal organ of Serrano Suñer, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the central organ of the Falange, announced, about the time that the Hispanidad Council was created: "The concept of Hispanidad has been lost in the rubbish of romantic follies. Before the creation of the Falange, Spanish Americanism, as a national concept, was *simply a theory,* cultivated by a small group of intellectuals." "Tomorrow," we are told by the Falangists in the propaganda for Latin America, "the warships of Mexico and Peru, the airplanes of Chile, Argentina, or Spain, the cannon of the Center, the South, or the North, will defend one great Empire, with a single great destiny. Then in the green fields of the future, twenty peoples will be free, proudly free in the glory of their material and spiritual fertility."

This is the propaganda spread through an entire continent, known to be one of the chief goals of Hitler's ambition and living under constant menace of an attack from Dakar. It is pertinent to examine and interpret this propaganda in the light of the known desires and ambitions of the Falange. The *Northern Gazette* of Bilbao, in the issue of April 18, 1940, reported resolutions adopted by the University Falange together with what it called "national dogmas." "Domination of the Straits of Gibraltar, fraternity with Portugal, and the intimate spiritual, cultural, economic and political union with Spanish America and the Philippines."

This imperialistic Spanish propaganda is always linked with attacks on North America and its institutions; and in this sense it goes beyond the frontiers of Latin America. An official German agency sent to Manila an editorial from the Spanish newspaper Alcázar discussing the anniversary of the entrance of the American Army into the Philippines. The paper recalled the date of August 20 as one consecrated to the idea of vengeance and issued a call for the *coming liberation and reconquest of the Islands.* In connection with the same anniversary, *Arriba* said that "among the ruins of the empire where Spain's dead lay, there remained a seed which tomorrow will perhaps be a tree again." And the article ended with these words: "The fountains of riches for the Yankees; the fruit of the dispossessed islanders' sweat for the usurpers." This propaganda in the Orient soon involved the Falange in conspiracy with Japan, just as previously under the Republic it had led to treason.

Coincidental with this campaign in the Philippines, the Franco general, Alberto Castro Girona, made a trip to Japan. Castro Girona is a native of the Philippines, the son of a Spanish colonial officer. He remained for several months in Japan, in close contact with the "sakalist" organizations, which, as is known, preach Japanese dominion of the entire Orient. The Spanish Falange functions actively in Tokio, in close contact with the anti-communist societies headed by Hanaoka. There exists a Spanish-Japanese Association directed by Viscount Nabeshima, and last November there was a celebration in Tokio in honor of the Falange, attended by the graduate students of the University of Keio.

III

PROPAGANDA against the United States has been somewhat curtailed in Latin America because of the accord between the majority of Latin American governments and Washington. Despite this fact, constant efforts are still being made in this direction. During his visit last year, the Franco poet and academician José María Pemán included in his activities a series of lectures in which he left no doubt about falangist hatred of the United States. All these ideas of spiritual and economic empire, all these attacks against the United States fall upon fertile and well-watered ground. In each Latin American country there exists an important and influential group which admires the Franco regime. And as an open campaign against North Americans and in favor of the Nazis would not be tolerated in every country, the propaganda is subtly disguised more often than not. The pro-falangist attitude is sometimes aided by the official representatives of the great Democracies.

In Mexico, Alfonso Junco, in the columns of important newspapers and magazines which are supported by United States advertising, hands on the watchwords received from the Instituto Ibero-Americano of Berlin, availing himself of the flowery language of the "spiritual empire" of Franco. Pablo Antonio Cuadra, in his Nicaraguan newspaper *La Prensa,* combats the Democracies, and asks that Central America be converted once more into a Spanish dependency. Pablo Antonio Cuadra is one of the most active nazi leaders in Central America. He is a militant falangist, who is spreading throughout his country the doctrine of the Mexican sinarquistas, which is nothing more than transplanted falangism. Last year the Franco Government paid for Cuadra's trip to Spain. The Caudillo received his Nicaraguan agent and informed him that Spain is ready to welcome intellectuals and students.

Carlos Deambrosi, an Uruguayan diplomat who wanders about Europe, serves the interest of nazism with articles having wide circulation in the press of the South American continent. Juan Carlos Goyoeneche, from Buenos Aires, drips totalitarianism in his publications, and travels mysteriously to Mexico and to Central America on missions of organization. The Brazilian poet, Augusto Federico Schmidt, sent to the National Council of the Falange a touching letter offering to translate into Portuguese the will of the founder of Falange, Primo de Rivera, and to broadcast it throughout the country. Carlos R. Andrade, a Paraguayan intellectual, gives lectures in which he exalts the spirit of the Falange and preaches the necessity of applying the same solution to the political problems of his country. Manuel Fresco, an influential Argentine politician, former governor of Buenos Aires, in a speech of propaganda on behalf of the Partido Unión Nacional of Argentina, harshly criticized capitalistic liberalism, and praised the totalitarian regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.

More grave is the fact that North American press services disseminate to the farthest ends of the continent news items originating in the office of the chief of press section of the subsecretariat of propaganda of Madrid. These items almost always refer to the tasks of Spanish reconstruction and to projects which are always going to be realized in the future. But for the purposes of its propaganda, it is highly important to the Falange to have a foreign and "neutral" source of information which shall make known to the world that Spain has constructive plans.

Many members of the clergy act as though they were falangist agents in America. Among the most prominent are the Jesuit Father Julio Vértiz in Mexico, the Archbishop of the Province of Salta in Argentina, Father Mora in Colombia, the Rector of the University of Santo Tomás in Manila, and Silvestre Sancho. They are spreading the concept of Hispanidad from the point of view approved by the Hispanidad Council and its agents. This propaganda by the clergy usually produces splendid fruit for the totalitarians. Realizing the importance of their services, the Franco government is now sending sixteen missionary fathers to Mexico, Cuba, Central America, Colombia, and Venezuela.

The creation in Mexico of the Escuadra Tradicionalista (Traditional Squadron) has facilitated the spread of Franco propaganda in the country. This organization, composed principally of groups of Catholic Action of Mexican Youth is extremely influential among students. When the National Students' Congress was held at the beginning of last year in the city of Puebla, the slogan broadcast by the Escuadra Tradicionalista was "Mexico and Peace." The organization has leaders, uniforms, insignias, and a fortnightly periodical. Its entire doctrine is merely a copy of falangist

catchwords. López de Lara, one of the theorizers of the Escuadra, is continually holding up the "glorious Spanish Falange" to his public. At the beginning of 1940, Cuadra and Goyoeneche were both in Mexico. The Argentinian Goyoeneche went there on his mission of uniting and organizing all the reactionary youth of Latin America. Both young men had long conferences with Father Vértiz, who instructed them regarding the best procedure calculated to gain their ends. They all agreed that the principal weapon in their struggle should be Hispanic propaganda in opposition to the Pan-American ideas preached by the democrats of the continent.

The activities of Cuadra and Goyoeneche, who later made their way to other Central American countries, coincided with the arrival from Spain of nazi emissaries, all specialists in those matters which occupy the attention of the Instituto Ibero-Americano of Berlin. Hans Hellermann, Von Mechlein, Colonel von Weerkam, Baron von Falkenheim, and others brought instructions from Berlin-Madrid referring to and supporting the activities of Cuadra and Goyoeneche. Hans Hellermann has been an important member of the nazi party since 1927. In recent years, he attended special courses which are given at the Instituto Ibero-Americano of Hamburg for secret agents. In 1934, he had been in Spain for the purpose of organizing Hitler groups and in 1935 and 1936, he organized shock troops of the party in Spain. In 1937, he became chief of the Spanish section of the General Staff of the National Socialist party; in 1939, he directed sections of falangist assault troops in Madrid; in 1940, he arrived in Mexico, where he is attempting by every means in his power to co-ordinate the activities of falangist forces and their sympathizers. Colonel von Weerkam belongs to the group of German officers who for some years have been training officers in South American armies. Before going to Mexico in 1940, he took special courses in Spain to perfect his knowledge of Spanish. For this purpose there exists a special tutoring center in Madrid. It appears that Weerkam's mission is to direct the military preparation of the falangist organizations. His principal activities are carried out in collaboration with Colonel von Merck, of Guatemala. Baron von Falkenheim arrived in Mexico in August, 1940. That year he had gone to Berlin with Serrano Suñer, and it just so happened that it was during that visit that the directors of the Instituto Ibero-Americano, in collaboration with the Falange, agreed upon the creation of the Hispanidad Council. The exact purpose of Falkenheim in going to Mexico and Central America was to establish contacts with Spanish Falangists and sympathizers and to discuss with them the Hispanidad campaign. On October 27, 1941, the Baron abandoned Mexico and went to Cuba, where he will presumably carry on the same type of work.

The Franco Government uses for its purposes individuals of widely different type and social condition. To Buenos Aires it sends the poet Pomán, and to Havana an adventurer like Genaro Riestra, an uncultivated emigrant to Mexico, who had been engaged in selling furniture and who, through his pernicious activities there and in Cuba, rose to the post of General Secretary of the Foreign Service Delegation. Before this appointment Suñer sent him to Cuba as member of the consular department, but the Cuban Government understood perfectly well that Riestra was going there for the purely political task of falangist organizing. The Frente Universitario Cubano, the Comité Acera de Louvre, and the Seminario de Actualidad Mundial, directed by the democratic Professor Herminio Portell-Vilá, were the first to raise their voices in protest, contributing thus to Batista's subsequent decision to expell Riestra from the country.

In connection with the Spanish Falangists, there exists in Bolivia the national organization, Falange Socialists Boliviana, composed principally of students. The seat of this organization is in the city of Cochabamba, and in La Paz it has an important cell to which students and several professors of the Universidad Mayor de San Andrés belong. One of their methods of propaganda is to cover the walls of the houses in the cities of Bolivia with posters praising Hitler and Franco and denouncing the Democracies. In Argentina, there is a deeper penetration of Germans and Falangists. Sandstede and Volverg, of the German embassy at Buenos Aires, and Ignacio Ramos and García Lamas, of the Franco embassy sought to induce the two Spanish dailies of La Plata to intensify the nazi war propaganda. After several conversations the German Embassy agreed to subsidize the two newspapers *Diario Español* and *Correo de Galicia* if they would do so. *El Pampero,* the nazi daily of Buenos Aires, alternates praises of Hitler with that of

Franco, and the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* edits a special page in Spanish, with a good news service, and with the close collaboration of falangist writers. The propaganda in Argentina is intense. In no other South American country does Franco carry on his activities so boldly. José Coll, a rich industrialist, is the official head of the Falange, and the falangist organization in Argentina gets preferred attention from the Instituto Ibero-Americano of Berlin and the Hispanidad Council of Madrid. The majority of the printed propaganda distributed in Argentina and Uruguay is manufactured in Berlin, in German printing houses. Only about 20 per cent of the propaganda comes from Spain directly or is printed in Buenos Aires. And that part which is printed in Buenos Aires comes from the printing presses of the *Diario Español,* which, as everyone knows, is subsidized by the German Embassy. Even after the outbreak of the war between the United States and Japan, the Japanese steamer "Ishiu Maru" arrived at a Brazilian port to unload cases of falangist propaganda printed in Germany and consigned to Argentina.

Innumerable instances of the nazi-inspired work in Latin America could be cited, but this combination of Hispanidad propaganda sent from Germany on a Japanese ship sums up and symbolizes the co-operation of the Axis Powers in their war against the Democracies of the Western Hemisphere.

—Translated by Arthur N. Colton

SOUTH AMERICA and The United Nations

BY PHILIP CARR

IT was only the other day that the peoples of South America suddenly woke up to the recognition that the war is really likely to come home to them. Until now they have felt entirely remote from it. They were never even divided into interventionists and isolationists, as were the people of the United States not so long ago. South Americans could conceive of no such division for they felt no need to isolate themselves from something which seemed likely to remain so distant, and intervention was an obvious impossibility. The war was not regarded therefore as a matter in which they were ever likely to be involved, but one in which they were merely onlookers; and they remained free to accord their purely moral sympathies to the side to which they were attracted by sentiment, admiration, cultural affinity, or business connections.

Moreover, even these sympathies were confined to the very limited number of persons in a very small number of towns who are sufficiently educated to hold any views at all. The great mass of the people in South America are so poor and so ignorant that they are never likely even to be conscious of the war unless and until it reaches their very doors; and although the drop in exports which the war has brought about affects the employment of some of them, they are so used to losing or even deliberately abandoning their employment, and can live so easily and on so little without being employed, that they hardly notice economic changes. In Europe and the United States, public opinion and the influence of the press upon public opinion mean one thing; where hardly more than 20 per cent of the population can read, they obviously mean quite another.

In speaking of the opinions of the peoples of South America, I must, therefore, be understood to be referring only to the above-mentioned limited class of townsmen. The sympathies of many of these have, naturally enough, been guided by their pockets. The countries of South America depend more for their livelihood upon the export of raw materials, and particularly of foodstuffs, than does any of the other four great primary producing areas of the world. No less than one-seventh of the national incomes of the South American states is derived from raw material exports.

Before the war, the two chief exporting countries of South America, and also the two largest, richest, and most populous countries, were Argentina—far and away the first in exports—and Brazil. Two-thirds of the Argentine's wheat and meat went to Europe—more than half of this to enemy countries and less than half to Great Britain—while less than a twelfth of them went to the United States. Hence a certain lack of Argentine sympathy for the U.S.A., a strong streak of sympathy for Germany, but a still stronger vein—for it is supported by a cultural as well as a business affinity—for Great Britain. Nearly half of Brazil's combined exports of coffee and cotton and cocoa went to enemy countries, but by far the greater part of her coffee went to the U.S.A.; and although her exports to Great Britain had diminished, war conditions have enabled her to increase them by a new and profitable trade in meat. Hence a streak of sympathy for Germany, but two much stronger ones for Great Britain and the United States. These facts may help to explain why the Pan-American idea had been far more strongly promoted by the Brazilian Government and press than by the Argentine, and why it has been more favorably received in Brazil.

However, considerations of business interest have not been the only ones which have affected the sympathies of the South American nations during the war up to now. In Uruguay, for instance, they should normally have determined the orientation of the country toward Germany, for nearly half as much again of her wool and meat went to Germany as that which went to England. And yet, no one who has lived in that country has failed to be impressed by its entire lack of interest in, and even its active dislike of, nazism and fascism as political ideals, as well as its genuine affection for the democratic and dislike of the Axis countries. Indeed, the constant enthusiasm for the Allied cause which has been shown by Uruguay, and its statesmanlike expression by the Uruguayan Foreign Minister, Senor Guani, have been one of the strongest influences in turning the scale in other South American governments towards the Allies.

It is, indeed, in favor of the United Nations in general rather than in that of the United States in particular that South American opinion as a whole may be said to have decided. Pan-Americanism is a delicate plant in the Southern Hemisphere and will require a lot more careful nursing before it will grow. Not only are the South American peoples not yet quite convinced of the disinterested motives of the United States, but they have by no means got over their suspicions and jealousies of each other. In Brazil, the country which I have been able to observe most closely, cultural affinity played an important part in determining sympathy for the Allies during the early months of the war. That cultural affinity was with France. Nearly every well-educated Brazilian woman has been brought up in one or other of the many French convents in Rio and São Paulo, and most educated Brazilian men speak French also. The richer ones have nearly all spent a year or more in Paris. When France collapsed, Brazilians of this class were naturally lost at first; but their admiration for the heroic resistance of the people of England, and especially of London, under bombardment gave them a new object for their affections; and there can be no sort of doubt that regard for England and the English is now greater than it has been for generations. More and more people are learning the language. There is a new interest in English literature.

Then came the Japanese attack upon the United States and the atmosphere changed in a night. There was no longer question of detached sympathy. This at once became co-operation and shoulder to shoulder resistance.

II

NOW here is what I consider to be a very significant and very interesting psychological fact. What has solidified Brazilian public opinion—which is limited, of course, to the class which is capable of holding an opinion—is that very Fifth Column which the Axis Powers no doubt thought would be so useful to them. It is this interference with their

own lives which has brought the danger home to the Brazilians, has convinced them that tomorrow the war might be on their own doorstep, and has urged them to take action while there is still time. Some months ago, I heard a Brazilian lady of German origin scornfully say that Hitler could take Brazil by sending a telegram. No doubt she or others said it several times for the boast was soon known to everyone. It has produced what was perhaps an unexpected reaction. I do not say that Brazilian opinion has always been ready to react in the way it now has. The careful neutrality which the Brazilian Government has observed until today probably represented what those who are responsible for most of Brazilian opinion were thinking and were wanting. The personal connection which various leading members of the Brazilian Government and Army had established and maintained with Germany and Italy might perhaps have borne other fruits if things had gone better for German arms in Russia and if the United States had not come into the war against Germany. These people no doubt felt at the beginning that Brazil had to be prepared for developments in either direction.

I do not say that it was always certain that the Brazilian Government would come down on the side of the fence on which it now is. What I do say is that the ordinary middle-class man in Rio or São Paulo is very much fortified in supporting the decision of his Government now that he learns that a German long distance wireless transmitting set has been sending messages to Berlin from a place so near to himself as a Rio apartment and now that all sorts of other Fifth Column activities, which were working under his nose, have been laid bare. He reacted against the Fifth Column instead of being frightened by it.

Of course, there has been a Fifth Column in Brazil. It might have been and perhaps still could be dangerous. Brazil has a population of nearly 43,000,000 and in it are not far short of 900,000 who are Germans or of recent German origin, as many as 2,500,000 who are more or less recent Italians and perhaps 200,000 Japanese, who have never been or will be anything but Japanese. The Italians have largely been assimilated, and although they included many declared sympathizers with fascism, their secret and subversive preparations have probably never amounted to very much or been very dangerous. The Germans have organized themselves almost openly—and no doubt secretly as well—into nazi groups, perhaps armed, and have presented a danger chiefly in the two southernmost states of Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul where their chief numerical strength lies. As for the Japanese, nobody knows what they have been doing; and the mere fact that nearly all of them are engaged in small agriculture and none in industry, whereas the Italians and the Germans have considerable industrial interests, might make them hesitate less to destroy industrial plants and the water power which feeds them.

Moreover, there are certain particular reasons why the ordinary Brazilian resents the discovery that the Japanese are conspiring against him in his own country more than he resents the similar activities of the Germans and Italians. He had come to regard the latter as more or less to be expected and he knew of their existence, though he never perhaps guessed their extent. Besides, the Germans, although they have not integrated themselves into Brazilian life, as have the Italians, do mix with the people and hold converse with them. There are points of contact. Again, the German danger, being largely concentrated in the south, was less apparent to Brazilians in other parts. The Japanese, on the contrary, are in little groups everywhere, and these groups keep mysteriously to themselves. They live in the country districts even more than in the towns, and in the towns they are to be found in the working-class suburbs, where they cultivate their little vegetable gardens and take their produce to market. When it was found that they were engaged in espionage, and were probably preparing sabotage, everyone was immediately quite ready to believe it. From being ready to believe it about the Japanese, everyone was inclined to believe it about the Germans also, and even about the Italians. Therefore, opinion has been quite in accord with the measures which the Government, since it abandoned its neutrality and severed diplomatic relations with the Axis Powers, has been taking to suppress Fifth Column machinations.

These measures have been numerous. In the first place, it may be said that no Axis propaganda is any longer carried on in Brazil. Indeed, the opposite is now the case; for certain anti-Axis films, whose showing was not allowed when Brazil was strictly neutral, are now permitted and "Pastor Hall" and "The

Dictator" are being given. A few months ago, the Brazilian Government's interpretation of neutrality, although it prohibited the exhibition of these films, tolerated the publication of markedly pro-Axis newspapers, printed in German and in Italian. A first step toward discouraging them was taken when it was decreed that newspapers must in future appear in the Portuguese language only which, incidentally, killed the two or three papers printed in English. The expression of pro-Axis opinion was, however, still allowed. Now these pro-Axis papers have been suppressed altogether. The next move against the Axis was to wind up all the German and Italian clubs and associations. Finally, severe restrictions have been imposed upon the movement of all Axis subjects as well as upon their financial transactions. In the case of the Japanese an additional means of dislocating whatever secret organization may exist among them has been adopted. This is to oblige some of them to change their place of residence.

The evolution in public opinion about all these matters has been reflected in the behavior of certain Axis subjects themselves. There was a large shop in São Paulo which was called Casa Alemã (The German House). It has changed its name. On the other hand, quite a number of Brazilians of Italian origin who were, until only quite recently, open in their loudly expressed sympathy for the fascist cause, have now been telling their British acquaintances that perhaps Italy had been mistaken in abandoning her traditional friendships and would do well to return to them.

III

THE Brazilian town dweller is having the war brought home to him by various minor inconveniences. Gas consumers have been warned that the lack of sea transport for coal will lead to the supply being certainly reduced and may lead to its being suppressed. And there is beginning to be a shortage in the shops of certain articles which had previously been imported, though there are no restrictions in the ordinary supplies of daily life, nor even in its amenities.

Besides, it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good and the restriction of imports resulting from war conditions has led to a boom in industrial activity in order to replace these imports by home manufactures. The town of São Paulo, as the inscriptions along the sides of its tramways constantly remind the inhabitants, is the chief industrial center of South America—which must not be taken to mean that Brazil is an industrial country. What is happening now is that São Paulo factories are producing, not only for the home market, but also for export to other South American countries—notably the Argentine—which are deprived by lack of shipping of British and even United States imports. As São Paulo's industry depends for power, not upon imported coal, but upon locally and hydraulically created electricity, it is not likely to suffer much from war conditions. Indeed, it is quite probable that, even when the war is over, the industrial development of São Paulo will be still further and permanently increased and that there will also be industrial development in other of the South American countries whose output has hitherto been limited to the primary production of raw materials. This development will be stimulated by the enormous destruction of industrial capacity which has been going on all over the world during the war, but it will also be more permanently based on the discovery that economically a country without sufficient industrial production is eventually at the mercy of the countries which have it. No doubt the poverty of South America in coal will hinder this industrial development to some extent but São Paulo has shown that coal can sometimes be replaced by water.

NOT WANTED

Following the exposé of Camille Chautemps in the editorial of the May number of FREE WORLD, *the Executive Committee of France Forever, the Free French organization of America, announced that it had unanimously rejected the application for membership made by Mr. Chautemps, a former Premier of France and Vice-Premier in Marshal Petain's Cabinet of June, 1940.*

Ruining Denmark

By

GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

IT is just two years ago that Denmark was invaded. The Germans came to a small country where intensive scientific farming during the past fifty years had raised its people to the highest standard of living in Europe. In fact, its wealth, not accumulated by some few, but smoothly distributed throughout the whole nation, was based on agriculture, or to speak less generally, on the two hundred and fifty million dollars' worth of exports of bacon and butter and of eggs and live animals. Three-quarters of the country's exports were agricultural products. These products were sold in Great Britain and Germany, and their revenue enabled Denmark to buy the coal, iron, oil, and other raw materials she needed for her highly developed industry as well as the forage and manure, on which her agricultural production was dependent.

Famous as Denmark's modern and efficient agriculture is, her industries were not less important. If her geographically advantageous position near the British and German market allowed her to sell her products unencumbered by high costs of transportation, it equally enabled her, by virtue of cheap shipping rates, to work her imported raw materials in home ports. One-third of the whole population was employed in handicraft and industry—the same percentage as was engaged in farming. They produced a major part of the commodities purchased by this industrious and well-to-do nation. Danish farming furnished a good deal of the raw materials for the sugar, canning, beer, spirits and leather industries. In the machinery, automobile, motor, shipbuilding, electrotechnic, chemical, wood, paper, fertilizer, soap, tobacco, chocolate, and textile industries, imported stuff was converted into goods for home as well as foreign consumption. In shipbuilding little Denmark has in recent years ranked among the foremost nations of the world, next after Britain, Germany, and Japan.

Denmark's foreign trade was of primary importance for her national economy. Her total imports and exports were evaluated in 1934 respectively 1.3 and 1.2 billion kroner (in 1938: 1.6 and 1.5 billions), whereas the total turnover of goods sold in the home trade that year amounted to 7.7 billions. In fact, Denmark ranked, after New Zealand and Iceland, as the country with the third largest foreign trade per capita in the world. Her two main trade associates were Great Britain and Germany, leaving all others far behind; Britain took over 50 per cent of her total exports and supplied over 35 per cent of her imports; Germany's share was about 20 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.

A war between Denmark's two best customers was bound to affect her most seriously. Denmark's large production of agricultural commodities for export had only been made possible by large scale imports of fodder and fertilizer from overseas. Only as long as these materials were allowed to reach Danish shores could Denmark's production of bacon, butter and live animals be maintained. Yet, at first, matters seemed to develop along the same lines as in World War I, when both belligerents were so interested in getting their food imports from Denmark that each was prepared to allow the enemy to get his share. Negotiations with both were immediately initiated and a trade agreement with Germany was signed in January, 1940; a similar arrangement was made with Britain on the second of April.

Exactly one week later came the catastrophe. It was quite clear from the very beginning that the Nazi occupation, apart from other calamities, would spell economic disaster. The loss of British trade was not the worst mischief. Germany was expected

to make up for the loss by taking over England's share of the exports. In fact, she did. But the loss of overseas imports of raw materials cut down Danish agricultural production to a fraction. But worst of all, the Nazis proceeded to wreck the whole economic structure of the country beyond repair.

For several years defenseless Denmark had been exposed to Hitler's well-known variety of ruthless economic blackmail. Selling is one thing, getting your money another. When trading with the British, the Danes were paid in exchange bills, enabling them to buy their imports in Britain or elsewhere, as they chose. In trading with Germany, the Danes were compelled to accept the barter system which forced upon them German goods. But this was the least harmful part of the situation. For the Nazis had the big stick in their hands. If the Danes objected to any of the barter conditions, Germany could bring them to terms merely by threatening to sever trade relations. If Germany did not buy, not only would a large part of Denmark's agricultural product remain unsold, but competition between the farmers would force down the prices obtained on the English market.

The Danish Government could not ignore the calamity this would bring upon its farmers, and so it accepted German terms. And what terms!

Denmark was forced to make monthly payments in sterling in advance of the expected positive trade balance for Germany. During two years, this tribute cost Denmark over fifty million kroner of her much needed exchange, earned in British trade. Even when the trade balance turned out to be negative as a result of the Reich's heavily increased Danish imports, Denmark had to continue for month after month to turn a good share of her valuable pounds into doubtful mark figures on some obscure Reichsbank account. When this "exchange hump," as it was popularly nicknamed, had grown to an imposing amount, the Danes were asked to buy German industrial products at a price fixed by the Nazis. Or else! — Or else the German imports from Denmark would be stopped and the Danish farmer would have to face a crisis worse than any ever experienced before. Thus Denmark was forced to import from Germany products beyond her actual needs. She even had to accept what the Germans chose to sell and not what she wanted to buy. On one occasion she was compelled to buy more coal than she was able to take home and in addition to the ten million kroner she was charged for the coal, she had to pay storage charges for the dumps in Germany. In sterling, of course.

II

WHEN the Germans invaded the country on April 9, 1940, they protested that they had come only to protect Danish sovereignty against British invasion plans, that they were coming as friends and would behave accordingly. The army was ordered to make an imposing show of its discipline — and Nazi soldiers do as they are commanded. They were painfully polite and "correct." They volunteered to help old ladies through traffic; they offered candy to Danish children; and they learned more phases of politeness in Danish than the rather informal Danes use themselves. At the same time, they systematically proceeded to ruin the people and the land.

Denmark's agricultural exports, and even the whole of her agricultural production, is crumbling away. The official index of the total output is listed as 57 for November, 1941, against 98 in November, 1939. The stock of pigs has shrunk to one-half. Other cattle and poultry have similarly decreased. The decline of the Danish foreign trade is not clearly shown in the general trade statistics, because the value of the trade is indicated, not the quantity of the exported goods. And the Germans have accorded higher prices for Danish agricultural products since the occupation. This sounds quite obliging, and the Germans never forget to stress that fact when they want to impress others or themselves with their own generosity. But the Danes are not impressed. They know that these higher prices are merely a matter of statistics. Because the fact about German-Danish trade relations today is that the Germans simply don't pay.

The technique is this: the higher prices accorded by the Germans are paid to the Danish exporters by the National Bank of Denmark which in turn, is credited with the amount on an ever increasing Reichsbank account on the assumption that the Danes will get their money when the war is over and Germany has conquered the world—in

case Germany then feels inclined to pay. When the Germans made the great sacrifices to take over the protection of Denmark, *Denmark* owed Germany 7.6 million kroner on clearing account. Today, *Germany* owes Denmark some two *billion kroner*. Over one billion of which comprises the costs of the occupation, German fortifications, construction of aerodromes, etc. All these expenditures are paid for by the Danish National Bank which is forced to advance the money against the time in the victorious future when the Germans are going to pay it back.

The money which the National Bank advances is paid in a most realistic manner in Danish kroner, whereas the claims of the bank on the German Government are of no current value whatsoever. This amounts practically to inflation, forced upon Denmark by the Germans. All parts of the population are suffering from this and other results of German domination but they do not suffer equally. The town dweller bears the brunt. The workers are hardest hit by the leveling of their standard of living as well as by a demoralising mass unemployment. Their only help comes from their employed colleagues through the unemployment funds of the unions, and these obviously cannot hold out long.

Similarly for the bourgeoisie, disaster is ahead. It is being ruined, indirectly by the inflation and the closing down of industry, directly because the possessing classes will in the long run have to pay for the pigs and eggs exported to Germany for which the Germans postpone payment. Even now the value of national property—estimated as ten billion kroner in 1939-40—has declined considerably. The value of livestock and stores has been reduced by some six hundred million kroner in 1940 only. Reduction of investments and consumption amounts to more than two hundred millions.

The proletarization of the bourgeoise and the reduction of the buying power of the workers, aggravated by actual shortage of goods, will affect the numerous middle class

of tradesmen, artisans and functionaries who made a comfortable living as intermediaries between the other classes. Even for them poverty and wretchedness are ahead, to the great satisfaction of the Germans, who hope to gain adherents to the hitherto despised Danish Nazi party among all the distressed strata of the population.

Only the situation of the farmers has until now been comparatively good. They benefited by the willingness of the Government to let the National Bank advance the higher prices which the Germans promised but have not paid. But the well-being of the farmers has not lasted. They have had to slaughter their livestock for want of fodder, and this year they are suffering from the worst crop failure ever experienced in Denmark. The latent antagonism between town and countryside is on the point of explosion. The town dwellers have begun to question the wisdom of letting the National Bank continue its cash advances when hardly any chance remains that Denmark can ever make the Germans pay their debts. And simultaneously the farmers protest that they can hardly make both ends meet with the low prices of the domestic market.

III

UP to the time of this writing, the Germans refrained from nazifying Denmark. They have made the process of bleeding the country easier by permitting the old institutions — King, Government, and Parliament — to function in the traditional way. Thus, ostensibly, they have kept their promise not to interfere with the internal affairs of the country. But behind the scenes, the Nazis control every political as well as economic function, from the dismissal of cabinet ministers to the signing of the anti-Comintern pact, whether by courteous suggestions or by significant rattling of the sabre. The policy of the Danish Government has hitherto been to try to persuade the Germans to refrain from inordinate demands. But the policy of persuasion must fail where both parties know that it is the persuader who has to yield. Nevertheless, daily life in Denmark has been and still is much less harsh than in any other occupied country.

Where the pressure is less, the reaction is correspondingly less severe. Thus in Denmark where no executions have taken place and where the Gestapo has not been turned loose upon the populace, the public has been less militant than in countries where the Nazis put in force their usual rule of terror. But this does not signify the least compliance on the part of the Danish people. The whole nation is united in its hatred against the invader who has brought ruin to this prosperous little country. This is obvious from the fact that in Denmark, no more than in terrorized and restive Norway, there is no Nazi movement worth mentioning, and the few Quislings are completely isolated from the rest of the population.

Sabotage and obstruction are much less spectacular than elsewhere, although an unusual number of mysterious fires have been recorded of late. In Denmark where everything is different, even subversive work has its own form. The national feature of sabotage in Denmark is the slow-down, but this is being done on a nation-wide scale, wherever production is likely to benefit the Germans. The Danes have never been aggressive. Their particular form of sabotage harmonizes very distinctly with their psychology, and the knowledge that they are driving the Germans mad, makes them thoroughly enjoy it. So, although no comparison is feasible, it is quite possible that a Swedish observer was right when he recently concluded that the quiet sabotage of the Danes was by no means less effective than the more violent outbursts of the Norwegians.

Having her only land frontier with Germany, Denmark is to-day an isolated country. Only rarely does news leak out. Danish newspapers are censored, dull, and inconclusive and contain no information whatsoever about sabotage. But statistics tell the story and leave no doubt about where the Danes stand. Denmark used to be a country with an insignificant criminal element. Today the police forces are incessantly increased and constantly kept busy. In the past year criminality in the whole Kingdom increased 33 per cent. The press is not allowed to specify what sort of crimes are increasing, but it is not difficult to make a guess, considering that under the head "various other crimes" in the statistics of the city of Odense, the figure has suddenly increased 492 per cent within ten months! In 740 cases prosecution was admitted to be "under foreign jurisdiction."

Central European Problem

BY JULIUS DEUTSCH

ANY attempt at a solution of the Central European problem will have to deal with the paramount question of the role of Austria. From the days of the Roman Empire when the Rhine and the Danube formed the boundary between civilization and barbarism, Austria has been the vortex of the military and political currents that swept across the continent, and the Danubian Basin has been, up to our own time, one of the chief battlegrounds of Europe. In more modern times the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy served to keep the balance of power in Europe. And as that Monarchy dwindled in importance, Europe suffered a growing instability and an ever-increasing danger of war. The first World War began with Austria-Hungary's conflict with Serbia. The second World War became inevitable when Hitler, pushing out into the Danubian area, annexed the Republic of Austria and menaced Czechoslovakia. From a geographical point of view, Austria is the bridge between Germany and Italy. At the same time it is the shortest line connecting southeastern with western Europe. Within it lie the Alpine passes, the centuries-old routes from northern to southern Europe.

There are many different answers to the question as to what will be the future of Austria. They all agree on one point, namely, that Hitler's *Anschluss* must be annulled. But they vary in their suggestions as to what must follow this annulment. There are those who demand that Austria should be kept separate from Germany for all time to come. Others, on the contrary, insist upon Austria's right to unite with a future democratic Germany whenever the people of the two countries will so decide. The Atlantic Charter provides for this decision on the part of the Austrian and German people. One thing must be taken for granted. As clearly demonstrated in the years between the two World Wars, Austria is unable to exist alone. By sheer economic necessity she is forced to unite with a larger territory, and here she faces the alternative: union or participation in a Danubian Federation.

The small state of Austria created by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain proved to be too weak to assert its independence against the great powers which were its neighbors. Germany and Italy began to fight for their respective spheres of influence in the Danubian Basin. At first, Mussolini seemed to be winning the race. He seized the key economic positions by securing control over Austria's biggest industry, the Alpine Montan Gesellschaft. His economic hold on the country was strengthened by political power. He subsidized the Heimwehr, the Austrian semi-military fascist organization, providing it with arms and ammunition and paying its officers and men. Backed by this group, he was able to control the Austrian Government.

Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss followed, partly willingly and partly reluctantly, the Italian line. He was compelled to take into his cabinet two leaders of the fascist Heimwehr, Prince Ernst Rüdiger von Stahremberg and Major Emil Fey. At first, Dollfuss apparently believed that he could use the Heimwehr as his tool. This assumption proved to be wrong. It soon became plain that it was the Chancellor who had fallen into the hands of these armed bands. Driven by the Heimwehr, Dollfuss entered into a life and death struggle with all the democratic forces of the country. He abolished the democratic constitution in order to pursue his authoritarian course, and the result was seen in the bloody struggles of February, 1934, which ended in the destruction of the workers' organizations. Five months later Dollfuss in turn fell a victim to the bullets of National Socialist murderers. His successor, Kurt Schuschnigg, attempted to continue the Dollfuss policy; that meant a Fascist Government at home and the closest reliance on Italy in foreign policy.

In 1936, Hitler came to an agreement with Mussolini regarding the domination of the

Danubian area. Germany took advantage of Italy's weakness during the Abyssinian campaign to expel the ally from her former position in the Danubian Basin. On March 13, 1938, Hitler marched into Vienna.

In the contest for hegemony in the Danubian area the German dictator had won his first major success in the field of foreign policy. The second one was soon to follow. Czechoslovakia, sacrificed by her allies, had to surrender to nazi Germany. From that time, Hitler was the uncontested lord and master of Central Europe. This victory had fatal economic and political consequences. Germany's armament works received appreciable aid from the added industries of Austria and Czechoslovakia. The most important industrial enterprises in both countries were incorporated into the German war machinery. The Hermann Goering Werke became the most powerful economic factor in Central Europe. The political success of Germany was equally great. There was no longer in Central Europe any open opposition to nazism, but only a more or less underground resistance. However, the ill-feeling of the masses in Czechoslovakia and Austria could not be removed by force. It manifested itself in thousands of forms, from the social boycott of the German invaders to deadly acts of sabotage.

Today the opposition in Austria is constantly increasing, for all of the people have joined the conscious working classes in the realization that Hitlerism means slavery. The longer the war lasts and the more the hatred against Germany grows both inside of Austria and throughout the world, the less chances there are for an Austro-German union and the stronger will grow the trends toward Austrian participation in a Federation of the Danubian States. When the influence of Italy and Germany is eliminated by the victory of the United Nations, the central point of Austria's foreign policy will be its relationship to Czechoslovakia. It is understandable that Czechoslovakia will insist on Austria's independence from the German Reich. It will argue that if Austria remains in union with Germany, Czechoslovakia would again be encircled by what may some time be an enemy power against which she cannot defend herself effectively. But in granting the demands of Czechoslovakia for a separation of Austria from Germany it would have to be recognized that the central states will need to make certain sacrifices. The treaty of St. Germain, which left Austria an unviable torso, cannot be repeated. It will be the task of all the neighboring states, but at the same time a duty for Czechoslovakia, not simply to abandon Austria to her fate, as happened before, but to help her in so far as possible. For example, in the re-drawing of frontiers more attention must be paid to Austria's economic requirements. Also, with respect to ethnography, it will be in the interest of both states not to draw frontiers according to historical rights—one historical right is commonly as much open to dispute as any other—but to draw them in accordance with the vital needs of the peoples concerned and of the peace of Europe.

II

ALL this points to the second alternative in the solution of the Austrian problem, the creation of a Danubian Federation. This will be successful only if certain fundamental conditions are specified. The chief points to be considered are:

1. As between the federated states, frontiers would be determined by peaceful agreement. Cases of conflict would be decided by an international court of arbitration, empowered to arrange plebiscites in case of need.

2. Within the Federation there would exist freedom from payment of customs duties, freedom of communications and transportation, currency unity.

3. None of the federated states would have the right to adopt economic measures injurious to any of the others.

4. Political or military treaties between a federated state and a state outside the Federation would require the assent of all other members of the Federation.

5. Commercial and customs treaties and economic agreements with nonfederated states would not be concluded by any one of the federated states, but by all of them jointly. The organ for the conclusion of such treaties would be the Federal Economic Council.

6. The federated states would acknowledge their complete attachment

to the democratic form of government which they would regard as including: parliamentary elections on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, local self-government, equality of all citizens without regard to race and religion, no limitation on the personal freedom of their citizens except by orderly judicial procedure; the right to a free press and to free assembly, the right of association and strike, the indispensable conditions of economic security for industrial and agricultural workers as well as the middle classes.

7. The federated states would bind themselves to grant complete cultural autonomy to their national minorities. Minorities inhabiting a compact area would receive the right of self-government; a compact area, for this purpose, would be any area in which the nationality concerned included three-fourths of the population.

The question remains which states shall form the Danubian Federation. This will be determined by the political situation after the war. Without doubt, Austria and Czechoslovakia will form its nucleus. But others will have to be qualified by the constitutions and governments which they set up. It is, for example, completely impossible for Hungary to become a member of the Danubian Federation so long as, ruled by a few thousand landowners, it attempts to preserve a semi-feudal economic and social system. Internal democracy is the first and foremost condition for co-operation in a league of equals and it must form part of the foreign policy which strives sincerely and without imperialistic designs to create a league of peace.

It would be overshooting the mark to wish to create a unitary state in Central Europe like the pre-1914 Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. All psychological pre-conditions speak against the creation of such a state. Neither the Czechs nor the Hungarians, nor, probably, the Croats and Slovenes, would allow themselves to be forced within the framework of such a state—not to mention the German Austrians for whom such a state would mean subjection to a majority composed of alien nationalities. Whether one regards national feelings as legitimate or not, practical politicians must reckon with them as a reality. A state structure which would be felt as an unbearable compulsion, a jail of nationalities, by most if not all of its nationalities, has no excuse for existence in our times.

Even the creation of a federal state in Central Europe will be difficult enough, and will—if the work of founding it succeeds—bring in its train an abundance of new and difficult problems. For this reason the range of functions of the federal state has not been extended too widely in this study. At bottom the federal state should be content to be a unified economic area; even in that function it should be limited to the most necessary powers: a tariff union, a communications union, a currency union. Everything else should be left to further evolution. If the organization of a Central European Federation proves timely and feasible, the Federation will with time be entrusted with functions which were previously fulfilled by the separate states.

Sympathy for the Hapsburgs, who ruled the Danubian area until 1918, were not and are not especially great anywhere in the world, for the history of this princely family has not been such as to win the trust and favor of the people. But since Hitler has ruled Germany, there has arisen a sentimental enthusiasm for those "good old days" when the bitter struggle of today was absent and, instead, a good-natured, pleasant people was ruled by a kind, old emperor. It is significant that the fairy tale of the patriarchal emperor is believed far more widely abroad than in Austria. There, where people remembered clearly the ill-fated monarchy, the overwhelming majority of the people remained deaf to all temptations of Legitimist intrigue. In Austria the slogan was and has remained: Neither Hitler nor Hapsburg!

A republic is the only possible form of government for Austria, as well as for Czechoslovakia. In Austria the future republic will be supported even more strongly than that of the past by the workers and peasants. Under Nazi domination industrialization of the country has advanced, because prior to and during this war important factories have been shifted to Austria to protect them from English bombing. The peasant population has remained unchanged in the main. On the other hand, the petty bourgeoisie has been decimated; a considerable part of it has been forced down into the proletariat. On the day the war ends Austria will face the following situation: war production will suddenly stop; hundreds of thousands of people will be unemployed; hunger

and misery, surging discontent, will be the order of the day in all cities and industrial towns—a revolutionary condition. In the villages the war-exhausted peasantry will be even more inclined than in 1918 to go hand in hand with the workers. The bourgeoisie, which possessed no small power after the first World War, has been reduced under Nazi rule to a caste of privileged beneficiaries of state capitalism. It now possesses no economic power of its own. The conservative elements in the population will be weaker than ever before. To believe that in such a situation a monarchist restoration could be carried out is a very naive conception.

III

To speculate on the political character of post-war Austria is to venture on extremely uncertain grounds. It is obvious that the outcome of the war will influence decisively the entire political situation. That will depend, above all, on the part which Russia will play in Central Europe. We must also take into consideration the changes in the economic structure of Austria brought about by the Nazis. As soon as nazi domination is broken, the question will arise as to what is to be done with all the industrial and financial enterprises now under German control. That they will be restored to the former owners is most improbable—in practice it would be almost impossible, for these owners have been scattered to the four winds and conflicting claims would tie up all industry for years. These businesses will, therefore, be left in possession of the State. In any case the State will have to make some disposition of them. If they are to revert to private ownership, they would have to be sold to groups of foreign capitalists because domestic purchasers provided with capital will not be available. I should consider this a most unfortunate solution of the problem since it would result in selling out the country's modest assets and in establishing Austria's independence in name only. In the eyes of her people Austria will be regarded as having fallen prey to foreign exploitation, and the inevitable reaction would be a popular movement in favor of *Anschluss* with Germany. In short, Austria again would be in the condition in which it was when Hitler annexed it.

Yet the aid of foreign capital will be absolutely necessary to re-establish Austria on a sound economic basis. The readaptation of war industry to peacetime production will require large investments. The lack of raw materials and foodstuffs will also compel Austria to borrow money in order to obtain these commodities in foreign markets. What will be the source of these loans? If the victorious Democracies understand the situation and act in their own interest as well as in the interest of world peace, they will grant Austria credits which will make her viable and will preserve her. The socialization of the key industries, which already exists in practice and cannot be reversed, will also provide a more solid basis for governmental loans from abroad.

Politically speaking, the new economic structure will find its expression in the close co-operation of the workers and peasants, the two classes which will be most significant in numbers and in power. As between them there will naturally have to be a clarification of conflicting points of view. The Austrian peasantry is, in the main, conservative and strongly attached to private property. During recent decades, however, a great movement of agricultural co-operation has influenced all branches of farming as well as the farmers themselves. Through the collectivism of the co-operatives even the conservative peasant understands the value and advantage of planned economy. If the peasant is allowed to operate in his own way in his own economic sphere, he will not oppose state production in the field of large-scale industry, and he will even promote state control of banking and credit as a policy well suited to further his own interests. It is hardly necessary to prove that such co-operation between workers and peasants can have favorable results only on a democratic basis.

Democracy within the country, combined with a policy of purposeful reconciliation and co-operation with all democratic forces, furnishes the only possible basis for the reconstruction of Central Europe. The stability and prosperity of Central Europe in turn must form one of the surest supports of peace on the European continent. The establishment of the Danubian Federation need in no way be an obstacle to a European organization, the creation of which remains the most important post-war goal. I believe that such regional federations will actually facilitate the creation of a European organization. A Scandinavian Federation, a Balkan Federation, a Danubian Federation will form the component parts of a European Commonwealth.

POWER

in

International Government

by

Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer

AMONG those fighting totalitarian aggression no dissenting voice can be heard as to the necessity for a new effort in the direction of international organization. Even among the Tory refugees, the conservative politicians in exile, no group or outstanding individual can be found advocating a return to the pre-1914 policies of alliance and power alignment. This is, however, about all on which agreement is general.

"It was, in truth, an attempt to make a middle way where there was no room for a middle way, to effect a compromise between two things which do not admit of a compromise, resistance and non-resistance."

—MACAULAY

As soon as one proceeds from generalities to the concrete questions, the cleavage appears. There are those who still believe that a kind of League of Nations without any coercive attributes is about the best arrangement men can hope for. There are those who advocate an improved League, leaving, however, its essential characteristics untouched. This body of opinion has the most impressive rostrum of adherents and advocates; most of the former League officials belong to it and the great majority of the teachers of international law and international affairs at American universites. Moreover, there are theoretical regionalists or *de facto* regionalists, like the adherents of Federal Union. Most of the federalists are regionalists, but not all regionalists are federalists. There exists an infinite number of variations and combinations of opinion. A serious attempt must be made first to clarify fundamentals and then to find a common ground if possible. For we must realize that our speculations may have a considerable influence upon the concrete shape of the future international order, as similar speculations in the years 1916-17 had upon the shaping of the League of Nations Covenant.

An obstacle to the clarification of the fundamental questions is to be found in a false sentimentality for the League of Nations. Exaggerated importance is attached by some of the most genuine adherents of a stable international order to the legal survival of the League of Nations, to the continuity of international organization. We are told that so and so many people are still employed by the League, that so and so many countries retain their membership, that certain League services are still functioning, certain studies still being continued. No possible objection could be taken to such statements were they not accompanied by a kind of pathetic pride that the League was still operative and its machinery ready for the major tasks of international administration.

The League has failed, and it has not failed only because of the ill will of the countries and the weakness and lack of courage of the majority of the statesmen. It has failed also be-

cause of some constitutional defects inherent in the League of Nations Covenant. If we seriously wish to prepare the ground for a workable international machine, we must get away from the patterns of the recent past. We must begin thinking and arguing from scratch.

The Covenant is the typical product of Protestant Anglo-Saxon psychology as applied to international affairs. This has more fatally determined the fate of the first great experiment in international government than is usually recognized. It has decisively influenced the role assigned to power in the international organization of 1920 and with this the most important single factor in the success of international government. It has sometimes been asserted that the League Covenant suffered from an undervaluation of the power-factor in international affairs. This is not quite correct. The tragic defect lies not in an underestimation of power as such, but in a pathetic belief in the effectiveness of a certain type of power; not in a misinterpretation of the role of power used, but of the place to which it should be strategically applied in international government.

The Covenant is based upon the axiomatic belief that moral forces would prevail in any future international crisis. It is this overemphasis on the decisive character of moral sanctions against technical organization of collective security which constitutes the fatal weakness of the Geneva system. Those responsible for the drafting of the Covenant believed that aggression had been so utterly compromised by the World War 1914-18 that no country would possibly revert again to it in our era. If contrary to all rational probability, any country were to embark again upon a policy of aggression, public opinion would so violently react against the statesmen responsible for such policies that the intended aggression could not be consummated. If, nevertheless, a country were to revert to aggression, public opinion of all the other countries would automatically line up against the aggressor. There would inevitably be a common front of all peace loving humanity; the aggression would be overwhelmingly crushed. The whole group of articles of the Covenant, X-XVI, dealing with this contingency, rests upon such hypothesis. It explains the comparatively slight importance which men like Wilson and Cecil (to take the two chief exponents of the psychology of Geneva) attributed to the question of sovereignty, to hard and fast advance-rules governing the League in a crisis, to the automatism of sanctions. Since they believed in a common endeavor to crush the would-be-aggressor, they saw no primordial necessity of any advance cession of sovereignty.

II

THE Anglo-Saxon group of statesmen in Paris, having desperately fought for the creation of the League, having overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, naturally assumed that the people of the world would enthusiastically and gratefully hail the new peace machinery. They simply could not understand the lukewarm reception which the new creation encountered. They had believed that they were implementing the dreams of the anonymous millions in all the countries and they found France cynical, though appreciative; Italy friendly in a noncommittal way; most of the other Allies politely complimentary; but hardly anyone enthusiastic, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Czechoslovakia which considered itself duty-bound to salute the League in gratitude to Wilson. Moveover, the statesmen resented the fact that the League was greeted with thinly veiled enmity on the part of the Germans, even by those passionately devoted to the idea of a future peaceful collaboration of the nations. They had naively assumed that Germany would consider the League as the chief extenuating factor of the peace settlement. A Gallup poll, undertaken in the first post-war years, would have shown a most puzzling indifference to the League.

What was the reason for such scepticism? It was by no means due to a dislike of international co-operation or to an unwillingness to participate in international government. It was due rather to the instinctive feeling that the League somehow would not work. The eudaemonism underlying the Covenant, its lack of clearcut prescriptions for action and for sanctions in case of non-co-operation was contrary, not only to the instincts, but to all individual and collective experience of the European nations, and not the European nations alone. The psychology of the Covenant was alien and even puzzling to those who were to be the majority of its members. By its underlying confidence in moral sanctions it presupposed a public opinion active and decisive in international affairs. This hardly existed in England and was non-existent in the majority

of countries, including the European democracies. Even in an indisputably democratic country like France, public opinion in international affairs was far more a correlative of governmental action than in any Anglo-Saxon country. In the majority of countries, however, public opinion was directed from above to an extent that neither Cecil nor Wilson could possibly conceive, for their own political experiences at home afforded them no means whereby this could be gauged. For most nations the League was like a well-meant gift, the giver of which is convinced that it is ardently desired by the recipient, the latter unwilling and unable to show his disappointment to the influential donor.

The attitude, therefore, was one of wait-and-see. Success or failure would obviously depend upon the degree to which the two Anglo-Saxon world powers would identify their policies with the League. The early abstention of America was the first blow. It soon became evident that Great Britain was not prepared to direct or determine the actions of the League except in a negative sense. This passive attitude of expectation on the part of the majority of the League members must by no means be confounded with active antagonism. Most countries, including the Germany of 1925-30 were resolved to make the best of it. The League having been created, no possible hope for a radical recasting could be entertained as even minor amendments were practically excluded by a cumbersome procedure of revision. All the good will existing, therefore, was bound to flow in the direction of the new agency. This potential good will was tremendous and it had to find an outlet. No wonder that it crystallized around the only body created for this special purpose. These were the days when Geneva leaped into a bewildering variety of activities in the political, social, economic, and health fields. Instead of interpreting this as a proof of the existence of an accumulation of good will, the League crusaders saw in it a proof of the excellence of the League itself.

III

AT least part of the peace failure of 1919-39 is attributable to the League itself. I am taking as example the episode gravest in consequences, the Ethiopian tragedy. Here was a clear case of aggression, committed by a regime, a country as nearly morally isolated as any can and ever will be. All, or nearly all the prerequisites of successful action on behalf of the League were assembled in rare completeness. The Covenant contained in Article XVI stipulations for such a case. The sanctions machinery actually was set into action. It failed. Not because of the unwillingness of the British to apply oil sanctions and the noncommittal attitude of America, not even because of Laval's thinly veiled treachery, much as this had to do with the final outcome. It failed chiefly because of the inadequacy of the stipulations of the Covenant. In spite of hesitations by London, Paris, and Washington, the smaller countries, especially Italy's neighbors and satraps, overwhelmingly desired to stop Italy in Ethiopia. This was not because of Ethiopia by any means. The country meant little or nothing to most of the nations eager to thwart Italy. Its territorial integrity was Hecuba to them. Its sovereignty did not worry the man in the street in Bucharest, Madrid, Sofia, and Belgrade. But there was a violent antagonism against the fascist spirit of aggression. What they feared was the possibility of successful aggression leading to an unwanted increase in the prestige and power of the aggressor. The whole existence of these states was at stake if any aggression were to be successful in Europe.

These countries were, therefore, ready for a collective action, including if need be, military sanctions, but they were not prepared to take any individual responsibility The Covenant, unfortunately, left each country a free agent in its decision. They simply could not afford to be individually responsible to the aggressor; moreover, the necessity of individual decision made them subject to blackmail, or opened up vistas of profits from individual bargaining. A system of automatic collective sanctions would have saved them all these troubles. They would have been protected by their collectivity. They would not have faced Rome; Rome would have faced the League. The stipulations of the Covenant reflected the inability of those responsible for its constitution to envisage in practical terms the mechanism of international psychology in a critical situation.

The above is based on the assumption that Italy would have fought, even if the net of sanctions had been more closely woven. In all probability this would not have been the case. Stipulations of automatic, progressively stringent sanctions would, in practice, act in

themselves as a formidable deterrent to aggression. The other alternative, that the powers would not have declared Italy an aggressor if this committed them to compulsory sanctions, would have been extremely regrettable, but it would not have been half as disastrous as sanctions which peter out. It would have implied the cynical abandonment of Ethiopia; it would have shown that the guarantee of territorial integrity contained in Article X of the League was highly problematic; but it would not have shaken to the ground the whole concept of collective security.

IV

WHERE, then, is a way out of the vicious circle constituted by potential aggression, potential collective defense, and failure of collective security? Certainly not in a mere revision of the Covenant, consisting in the suppression of the unanimity rule, in the creation of an international police force, in an amendment of the revision clause embodied in the famous Article XIX, in the compulsory intervention of a Court of International Justice. Whatever improvement this may constitute, it would no more safeguard peace than did the old League. The essential weakness, the placing of confidence in moral sanctions when the functioning of public opinion remains uncertain, would not be abolished. Such a League would still be an attempt to compromise between "resistance and non-resistance". The much-advocated plan of "putting teeth" into the League would invite a new disaster. Force would still be placed in an ex-centric position and not in the center of the future machinery, and thus it would likely be wasted.

The way out is to recognize that international organization must be transformed into international government. An international agency, in order to function in an emergency, must have a power of its own, in advance delegated by the component parts for this purpose and in itself sufficient to crush, if necessary, a maximum of ill will on the part of the greatest number of its members. This can only be achieved if the universal machine is split up in regional bodies. International government can only succeed if its territorial range is limited to such a region or regions as can be effectively controlled by the permanent power at its disposal. This is possible in a federation, if the whole military power is pooled and vested in a central agency. Any agency whose states retain their military sovereignty and their liberty of action, and only promise *ad hoc* contingents is uncertain in its efficiency. The international agency's size must, therefore, be directly proportionate to the number and size of the countries who are prepared to invest it with full military power. It is, under present circumstances, out of the question, that all the important states of the globe would be prepared to make such sacrifice, even if the United States should come out of the present conflict sufficiently shaken to participate in such a body. But who would be bold enough to assume that the USSR would forego its military autonomy in favor of a majority of capitalist states? That the Latin American countries would voluntarily bind themselves in such a manner? A universal agency cannot at present be also a coercive body. World anarchy will certainly not, in the political and diplomatic field, disappear tomorrow even if this war is fought and won on a planetary basis. The world is not ripe for planetary action in the political field.

What can be controlled are regions, sectors, continents, and territories bound together by some sort of geographical, economic, national, social, spiritual bonds. Europe is one of these regions. It is still the key to the pacification of the world. Europe, not Russia and not Asia, has twice plunged the world into world-wide conflicts within one generation. If Europe can be successfully pacified, one of the chief permanent sources of wars will automatically disappear.

The first question is, of course, why Europe should be considered a unity. It is neither so in an ethnological nor an economic sense. Moreover, it seems psychologically disunited beyond repair. Yet, in spite of the permanent divisions, Europe is essentially one, over and above its violent antagonisms. It is one in its outlook and what the Germans call *"Lebensgefühl."* There is a deep cleavage between the Germans and the majority of the other European nations, but this cleavage is offset by deeper spiritual common traits. If the end of the present conflict brings about the expected collapse of totalitarianism, the common denominator for all things European will reassert itself.

Unable to create a universal enforcement machine, the victors will be forced into organizing Europe as a unit, if for no other reason, in order to escape the necessity of occupying great parts of Europe for an indefinite

period. There are a thousand reasons why the Europeans will never be able to undertake this for themselves. There are a thousand equally valid reasons to believe that, once this step has been enforced upon them, the inhabitants of Europe will do everything to make it work. It is the kind of step they want to have forced upon them from the outside, preferably by America.

Such a European federation, which is the only practical way to neutralize German aggressiveness and to divert the great German qualities to positive endeavors, would imply a central authority with military and economic power. Europe is not too large to make an effective control by its own forces impossible. Once established, the common bonds will assert themselves so overwhelmingly that no power inside or outside will be in a position to destroy the new status. Into the creation of an European federation and perhaps of similar regional organizations in other parts of the world should go the major portion of the creative efforts aiming at pacification of the world.

V

A WORLD organization will certainly be created after this war. It would, however, be dangerous to attempt, as far as political affairs are concerned, anything more ambitious than a purely consultative body.* Such universal machinery will not be able to safeguard or guarantee peace. There must be no guarantees of territorial integrity; there must be no sanction paragraphs, as there will be no possibilities to enforce sanctions on a world plane; there must be no compulsory jurisdiction, as there would be no policeman to compel the execution. Never must there be again a steep, downward grade of the kind which led from the Manchurian aggression, to the Ethiopian debacle, and to the World War. There must never be belief in security where there is no security, paper guarantees where there are no ready sanctions, hope where all the odds are against its consummation. There is one mortal sin in international organization—the creation of a false sense of security. Better nothing than make-believe. The world will be in a better position to defend itself against dangers it knows, it expects, and it fears, than against the danger of self-deception created by an agency based purely on moral sanctions. The world must never again tread on the thin ice of illusion.

———

*The world having become a *de facto* unity in the so-called non-political field, I firmly believe in the possibility of world-wide technical agencies and control. The anti-narcotic work of the League of Nations shows what potentialities of international government exist, without constituting in itself the maximum of what can probably be achieved immediately after the present war. It seems likely that the states will be prepared to make *ad hoc* sacrifices of small sectors of their sovereign rights for specific purposes in clearly determined technical fields. My scepticism regarding planetary action should clearly be understood as applying exclusively to the diplomatic and political sphere, not to international activities in the fields of health and transportation.

●

IN the interests of the fullest possible discussion of the vital problems of post-war world organization, we present the essay of Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer although we are in almost total disagreement with its thesis. Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's article is the typical expression of a purely legalistic and mechanistic conception of international relations. Its lack of faith in the ability of society to establish a properly functioning structure for collective security is due in a great measure to the fact that he ignores the profound influence which the conditions of the last twenty years have exerted upon the thoughts of men. Similarly, his conclusion that the future world organization must be a consultative body is due to the fact that he attributes the failure of the League of Nations to its constitutional defects, whereas it was due to the disregard of its constitutional provisions by those who were pledged to uphold and implement them, as well as to the crisis in internal and international democracy.

World Order

AND

Cultural Diversity

By LAWRENCE K. FRANK

THE idea of a world order has haunted the dreams of man for untold centuries. Again and again individuals have arisen to proclaim such a goal as the supreme endeavor to which man should sacrifice all else. Some have had a vision of a world united through acceptance of a transcendent religion or of human brotherhood, seeking in a common faith the resolution of conflicts and differences. Others have sought to create unity through the sword of conquest. Still others have relied upon the slow process of education or upon political and parliamentary devices for mediating opposing interests.

There have been innumerable roads to world order offered to mankind, but each proposal has demanded acceptance of the particular religion, philosophy, political organization, or military power of the proponent and the abandonment, if not utter destruction, of all other religions, philosophies, political organizations, and of independence. However lofty the aspirations, proposals for world order have been conceived primarily in terms of a single dominating power, authority, creed or belief, or an exclusive scheme of political and economic institutions to be imposed on all peoples. Even the Christian churches that have for so long asserted the ideal of human brotherhood and peace on earth, have thought primarily, if not exclusively, of a Christian world in which the religions of other peoples would be eliminated or displaced by a militant Christian church.

If we are genuinely concerned with the establishment and maintenance of a world order, then we must begin to examine more critically the assumptions and the purposes implied by the various proposals for achieving such a goal. The crucial question then is how far does any scheme or program for world order recognize and accept the cultural diversity of mankind as the fundamental, inescapable basis of order. It is relatively easy for us to protest vehemently against Hitler's ideal of world order, with a master race of Germans running the world, while all others submissively accept their control and guidance. We are quick to resent the assumption of German superiority, of an exclusive possession of all wisdom and the right to govern others, and we hasten to organize all our resources to oppose the threat of an authoritarian government because we feel that our way of life and our aspirations are endangered by the German dream of world conquest. The issue here is clear and unambiguous and to that cause we have dedicated our lives and our national resources.

But Western European culture, which we share with the other nations that stem from the Egyptian, Greek, Judaic, and Roman backgrounds, tends to ignore or deny the value and significance of other cultures. Toward the peoples of ancient lands, India, China, Japan, Africa, many of whom have cultural traditions, religions, philosophies, and ways of life far more ancient than ours, we have had a curious attitude of smug complacency and often outright disdain, if not contempt. Toward other peoples, especially those of a different color, we have usually acted as the "master race" which had all the wisdom and enlightenment and therefore was entitled to impose its ideas and religions, its institutions and social practices, and its political and economic control upon their lands and their peoples. The tradition of colonization and of empire, of missionary zeal and trade promotion and economic exploitation are predicated upon this assumption. Like the classical Greeks we still regard those who speak with a different tongue and attempt to order their lives to a different design as barbarians, to be pitied for their be-

nighted condition and to be exploited or degraded whenever they find themselves in the path of the one wise, truly civilized, and really superior people, who bear the "white man's burden"! What Hitler, with his assertion of a German master race has done, is to reveal, in all its stark ruthlessness and self-centered, almost paranoid, distortion, what Western European culture has accepted as the major premise of its international relations. The sordid and often brutal history of our devastating contacts with other peoples bears eloquent testimony to the operation of this premise in diplomacy, economics, even religion, and almost all other phases of our international activities.

Thus we face the searching question of what kind of world order do we seek: the dominance of Western European peoples and culture, of our religions and our peculiar scheme of political and economic activities, our relatively parochial way of life, or a world in which different peoples can live according to their own values and traditions, their own assumptions and beliefs and their peculiar sensibilities. If the four freedoms are to be established and maintained, can we continue our self-centered insistence upon our Western European values and beliefs and refuse to accept those of others? Never have we had a greater need for a more sympathetic awareness and understanding of other cultures and peoples. Just because we are so myopic and culturally illiterate we need some longer, deeper perspective in which to view the world and its various people, including ourselves.

II

ALL over the earth we find man, a mammalian organism, existing in the geographical space of nature, subject to the impact of physical, chemical, and biological events, responding to gravity and weather and the threats from other organisms. Despite the obvious differences in size, shape, color, and in some physiological functions, man, as a species, is essentially alike everywhere. Moreover, despite variations in climate and local differences in flora and fauna, nature, the environing world, is essentially alike, operating through the same basic processes everywhere. Thus we have initially the more or less homogeneous human species existing in and upon this even more orderly, almost uniform earth.

But nowhere do we find man living as a child of nature or existing merely as a mammalian organism engaged primarily in functional activity and impulsive behavior; everywhere he is found living in a cultural and social world, which he interposes between nature and himself and imposes upon his own functional activities and behavior. Each group of men has established its culture, a human way of living, based upon its basic assumptions and beliefs, its aspirations and its feelings.

If we try to find some way of grasping the amazing variety of cultures that have appeared, or still do exist, all over the world, we can gain some understanding by recalling that man has, from his earliest days as man, faced the same persistent tasks of life: to come to terms with the environing world to gain sustenance, shelter, and security and to perpetuate his kind to organize some form of group life or social order wherein individuals can participate in the common affairs of life; to regulate human conduct by transforming naive impulsive behavior into the patterned conduct and strivings cherished by the group. These are the persistent, inescapable tasks of life that have confronted man everywhere and continue to face every generation anew, since social order is not given but must be sought. To meet such tasks man had to make certain assumptions about the world and himself and thus we find that he has created for his guidance a body of ideas, conceptions, and beliefs in terms of which he has built his culture and established his social life.

What is beginning to appear is that each group, faced with the same life tasks and compelled to make the same kind of assumptions about the world has, of necessity, employed the same *process* of meeting those demands and formulating those beliefs. The products, that is, the specific content or formulation of their beliefs and assertions, what they have developed as their religion, their philosophy, their art, and their patterns of social life, are so different as to appear completely divergent and contradictory. Yet those differences are only the variations in what are essentially similar or equivalent patterns.

If we can stretch our minds to grasp this idea of similar patterns underlying different expressions and formulations and can begin to realize how the same fundamental process gives rise to different organizations, functions, and activities, then we may find it less difficult to see the divergent cultures all over the

world as different, but equivalent products or expressions of the same human process.

III

So soon as we begin to regard diverse cultures as so many different answers proposed by man to the same tasks or questions, so many different solutions offered to the same vital problems, then we may find it less difficult to think of world order, not in terms of a dominant, coercive imposition of one cultural formulation upon all others, but in terms of orchestrating cultural diversities to the larger theme of achieving meaning and significance, values and order in human living. We can begin to see how these same vital tasks have been approached by different groups of people according to the various assumptions and beliefs they have developed for ordering events and organizing experience, guided by their peculiar sensibilities and feelings. Our Western European culture then appears as only one of the many historically developed cultures, with its peculiar religion, its philosophy, its art and more lately, its science, which probably is its only valid claim to distinction. All else is essentially a parochial version of what other cultures have offered their people as a design for living.

Since the very purpose or operation of a culture is to affirm certain assumptions and beliefs and to attain certain standards of conduct, this necessarily creates anxiety and fear of anything different. When peoples of different cultures meet, this basic anxiety and hostility are aroused; each approaches the other with contempt or overt enmity, with destructive criticism and depreciation of the other's beliefs and practices. Yet the assumptions each rejects and the patterns each despises in others are essentially the product of the same process of striving to make a human way of life that produced its own cherished beliefs and patterns, and fulfill the same function in the cultural context of its life.

Now that the world is shrinking through rapid transportation and even more rapid communication and is being forced by commerce and by world-wide war to seek some larger concepts and broader understandings, the older traditions of narrow, parochial intolerance appear in all their primitive destructiveness. Moreover, it is becoming evident that loyalty to these self-centered beliefs in an exclusive superiority makes possible the cynical manipulators, political and religious, who play upon these prejudices for their own purposes to perpetuate and intensify the antangonisms toward other peoples.

To believe that the English-speaking or Western European peoples can impose upon all others the parliamentarism, the peculiar economic, business practices, the esoteric creeds and religious rituals, and all the other idiomatic features of their Western European patterns, is the initial misconception and blindness in so much of present-day thinking and planning. As Ortega y Gasset has reminded us, a culture is that which is sought; but every culture is asymmetrical, biased, and incomplete, making a virtue of its deficiencies and its anesthesias. Each culture in grappling with the same problems has created patterns of action, speech, and belief, of human relationships and values that have accentuated certain potentialities of human life and have ignored or repressed others. Each culture seeks to represent itself by its aspirations, emphasizing its lofty ethical or moral goals as its essential character, and usually ignoring its shortcomings and its often destructive features.

IV

World order is not to be gained by a regimentation of all peoples to the same pattern of thinking, acting, and believing through a neutral blend of all in an undifferentiated internationalism or a rigid uniformity. No single culture can be accepted as the final and best for all peoples; we must recognize the unhappiness, the degradation, the misery, the incredible brutality, cruelty, and human wastage in all cultures which each tends to ignore while stressing lofty ethical aims and moral aspirations. At the same time we can and must recognize how each culture has developed certain human potentialities and formulated the beliefs and patterns which are outstanding achievements, giving human life and social order some meaning and beauty and fulfillment and security. Thus we may view cultures as we view the arts of different peoples as esthetically significant and artistically meaningful, each in its own context or setting.

Indeed, world order may be approached as in art, where the artist achieves universality, not by a composite blend of all scenes, peoples, and situations, but by the very individualized,

idiomatic personalities and concrete situations he presents in all their multidimensional but highly specific patterns. So in the effort to establish a world order we must start with an acceptance of the diverse cultures all over the world, with a sympathetic understanding of their basic similarity of purpose and process, recognizing their diversity and their different emphases, as productive of the richness and color and variation that man has achieved in living and human relations. The brotherhood of man will come, therefore, through the realization that all men, everywhere, face the same life tasks, share the same anxieties and perplexities, the bereavements and tragedies, seek the same goals in their cultures; to make life meaningful and significant, to find some security, to achieve some social order and to regulate their conduct toward values that make life more than mere organic existence.

When we realize this basic persistent endeavor of all cultures, we may begin to assess them by what they do to and for the human personality, submitting our own culture to the same evaluation as all others. The humility and the pride we gain from a candid assay of what our Western European culture does to and for the personality, may then prepare us for the understanding and sympathetic evaluation of other cultures, some of which offer more humanly conservative ideas and patterns than our own.

Thus we can respect all other cultures and their idiomatic way of life, which will accept the basic value of the individual, will maintain freedom, will seek human welfare, and will co-operate in the endeavor to establish and preserve world order to those ends. Those who can and will accept these basic criteria and values, can also accept regulations for human conservation, such as labor regulations, safety provisions, codes for uniform procedures in economic and technological affairs, public health measures and medical care, and the many specific agreements among nations that now point the way forward to this sharing of knowledge and techniques and mutually agreed upon practices for human conservation and welfare. These specific standards can be accepted and put into practice within the framework of the diverse cultures quite as we translate agreements into different languages and symbols. If we can think of world order in these terms, can envisage this immense, almost Promethean, task as the inescapable responsibility of all those who profess the democratic ideal of respect for the individual human personality, then we may be able, in the midst of the darkness and despair that now assail Western man, to muster the courage and find the faith that will enable us to take up anew the endless task of achieving human values and order, in company with all other peoples of the earth.

DEFENDER of Free French Africa

BY FRITZ KAUFMANN

ONE of the devious means by which Pierre Laval hopes to draw the French people back into the war—this time, of course, on the side of the Axis powers—is by winning back, through armed force, the "disloyal" colonies that have passed over into Free French administration. At least the Vichy propaganda, so carefully tuned to the Berlin barometer, gives the hint that such plans are already under way.

Several of these colonies—the Pacific possessions and the settlements in India as well as St. Pierre and Miquelon—are, from purely geographical considerations, beyond Vichy's possible sphere of action. An attack upon Syria, which would appear most tempting from a political point of view and which would bring the new friends in the German General Staff the most immediate advantages, cannot be carried out without direct German and Italian co-operation. But direct Axis participation in any military operation—even though, according to the official interpretation, it would not be regarded as a belligerent action against the United Nations but merely as the exercise of internal police force—would today arouse such indignation in France that Laval will not dare to undertake the enterprise, especially since it carries considerable military risk in its wake.

Thus, the only action still within the realm of probability is one directed against Free French Africa. This vast region, extending over far more than a million square miles, has tremendous significance for the United Nations' economic conduct of war due to its tin, lead, and rubber resources. This significance has increased since other major supply bases for these raw materials have had to be written off. Still greater is the strategic interest of the United Nations in maintaining control of Free French Africa, as it rounds off the Anglo-Belgian African bloc and closes the chain which runs straight through the entire continent. The supply route from America to Egypt, Southern Russia, and India is reduced by several thousand miles by the shortcut through Free French Africa. The saving in mileage will be increased once the land connection from Brazzaville to Khartoum and Mombassah is completed, and the sea route with its enormous risks is cut down to a bare third of its present length.

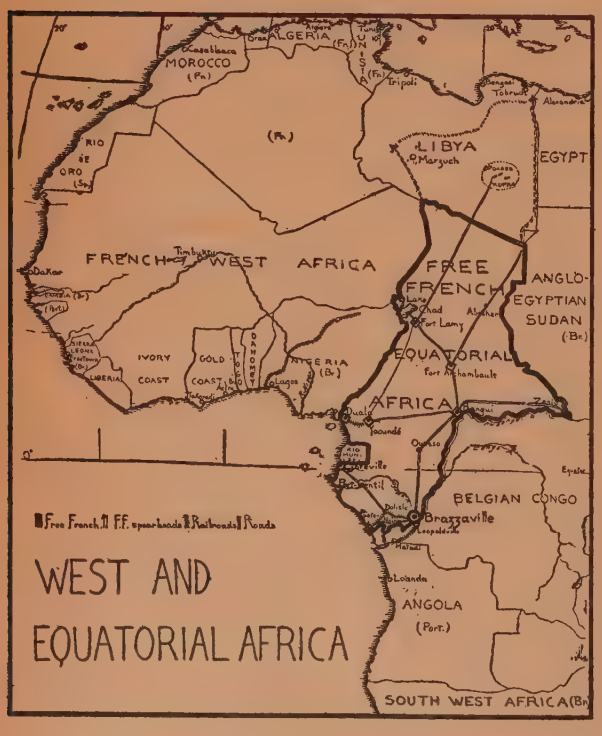
The Free French territory in Africa is, from the mainland, adequately protected by nature itself. Vast, almost impenetrable desert regions separate it from adjacent Libya and French West Africa. Any action on the part of Vichy, therefore, would come by sea, a kind of reverse of the unsuccessful Free French thrust against Dakar. Detachments that would land in Duala, Libreville, and Pointe Noire would have to try, after putting down local resistance, to penetrate along the railroad routes leading from these three ports into the interior. The objectives would be the conquest of Brazzaville, the terminal of the route starting out from Pointe Noire, and of Yaounda, the terminal of the Duala route.

Undoubtedly the defense of Free French Africa has been carefully organized against such a threat. In the fall of 1940, and again in the summer of 1941, General de Gaulle personally spent a number of months in Brazzaville and took all measures that seemed necessary to protect the territory. The command over the military forces stationed in Free

French Africa was entrusted to one of de Gaulle's most capable commanders, Division General Legentilhomme, who, despite his youth, has had more than ten years' experience in African colonial warfare. The troops under his command are composed for the most part of native battalions. There are in the ranks of the Free French forces, Negroes from the Chad region, from Cameron, Ubangi Shari, and Gabun, side by side with Negroes from the Congo and a number of tribal chiefs who left the regions around the Niger with all their men and went over into Free French territory to offer their services for its defense.

Thus a situation would result in which Negroes from Senegal would be embroiled in a bloody conflict against their racial brothers from the Congo, a conflict which would be designated—according to the source sending out the dispatch—as a "punitive expedition against the De Gaullist rebels" or as a "war of liberation against the Vichy Fascists." Whatever the outcome of the struggle, the fighting men themselves would have nothing to win. It will be completely irrelevant to the Negro whether in Dakar the swastika or in Libreville the Croix de Lorraine flies above the tricolor if the French tax collector will take away his last cow, or the French trader will talk him out of his bananas, or the French plantation owner will exploit his labor for a ridiculous wage as soon as the Negro doffs his tattered and blood-spattered khaki uniform and again dons his loincloth. In Malacca, in the Dutch East Indies and in Burma, the brown races have already proved to their former masters that they want to have nothing to do with this war unless it will result in their own liberation. In India, too, the situation is anything but satisfactory. Will the French risk getting embroiled in a struggle on African soil in which the Negroes, thinking of their own liberation, may refuse to have any part in the conflict of the white race for domination of their territory?

This thought probably causes Vichy some uneasy moments. For at the side of General Legentilhomme there is one who, quite possibly, may be able to synchronize the cause of the Negro with that of the Democracies and to make the war for the independence of the Free French from the Vichy Fascists at the same time a war for the liberation of the French colored colonial population from oppression. This man is Felix Eboué, Governor-General of Free French Africa, the "Father of the Chad," as the natives call him.



II

FELIX EBOUE is one of the most remarkable figures of modern French colonial bureaucracy. Though born on American soil—in French Guiana—he has spent the greater part of his life in Africa. He was sent there in 1909, shortly after graduating from the Ecole Coloniale in Paris. With the exception of two interludes, one spent as Secretary-General of Martinique in 1931-35 and one as Governor of Guadeloupe from 1937 to 1939, he has never left the Dark Continent. In the entire French colonial administration, which certainly is not wanting in capable brains, there is hardly anyone better informed about the country and its population than Eboué. He did not acquire this knowledge in the comfortable rocking-chairs of the governmental palace in Brazzaville. When he had hardly set foot on African soil, he immediately expressed a desire to be dispatched to the interior. He was soon permitted to assume his first position in the veldt at the side of an experienced older colleague.

During the years that followed, the young official studied the local needs of the popula-

tion, traveling from village to village, from kraal to kraal. He soon got the knack of how to persuade these kind, friendly, but often intimidated primitive people to collaborate, in their own interest, with the authorities. The abundant knowledge of local living conditions, acquired under great hardships, soon gained him the confidence and love of the numerous Negro tribes, so different from one another in culture and character traits. To understand them better, he studied three of their languages and later on became the author of a widely read dictionary of Central African dialects. His zeal was inexhaustible. Eagerly he made extensive journeys through the virgin jungles of the South, across the vast savannahs of the huge hunting grounds which stretch to the north of the jungle zone and across the barren sand wastes of the Sahara. In the districts under his administration he visited every single settlement, sometimes as often as twenty times a month, even during the rainy season. Anyone who knows Africa will realize what this means in moral strength and physical endurance. And that fact secured his popularity.

Thus Eboué fused his own life in an exceptional manner with that of equatorial Africa. He rose rapidly in the ranks of the colonial hierarchy. Soon he was promoted to the rank of *administrateur de première classe* and took over the management of the Bangassou, Fort Sibou, and Bombari district. Within a short time this district was regarded as a model of economic and sanitary organization. Eboué was untiring in his fight against the vicious tropical diseases, and co-operated closely with the titanic efforts of the doctors in African jungles. Religious missions, Catholic as well as Protestant, found in him understanding and readiness to further their endeavors. His charm, genuine comradeship, and tact won for him the respect of his superiors and his subordinates.

It was Governor Eboué, of the Chad Territory, who, on August 26, 1940, was the first French colonial governor in Africa to renounce Vichy and to come out publicly for the continuation of the conflict on the side of the British. With this gesture he pointed the way for patriotic resistance in the whole of Africa; on the very next day and the day after, the mandated territory of Cameroon and the territories of Oubangui-Shari and the Central-Congo followed the example of the Chad.

When General de Gaulle appointed Eboué Governor-General of all Free French Africa

in return for the services rendered by the transfer of the colony to the administration of the Free French, the entire population cheered their new chief, whom they could regard as "one of their own" in more than one sense. For it so happens that Governor Eboué is a Negro. This fact in no way impeded Eboué's career in the service of the French Republic. Nor did it make any difference in his appointment to the highest post which any Negro has so far attained in the French hierarchy of functionaries. Undoubtedly, De Gaulle chose the man for the most important colonial position he had to fill—the regions under Eboué's control comprise 91 per cent of the entire territory under Free French administration—for purely objective and not racial considerations. And it must be admitted that by doing so he merely carried on a perfectly normal tradition of the Third Republic.

Anyone who ever visited France must have been amazed at the absence of racial prejudice there. Things that are inconceivable in other countries were a matter of course in France. A direct line leads from the French girl who strolled unembarrassed in the streets of Paris arm in arm with a black soldier, and from the restaurants in which Negroes and whites drank and danced together quite informally, to the famous Negro deputy who not only enjoyed complete political equality in the Chamber, but who also enjoyed, as a matter of course, com-

plete social equality. Marriages between white and colored people are frequent in France and many a famous Frenchman has had mixed blood in his veins. Exclusive private schools open their doors to white and colored Frenchmen alike. Eboué, the dark child of unknown parents, who suddenly emerged somewhere from the swamps of Guiana in Cayenne, whose year of birth is not definitely known, finds his way to Paris via the Cayenne College, where a successful entrance examination opened to him the same opportunities for a career as it did to the sons of the oldest aristocratic families. And Eboué's daughter was accepted at the famous school of the Legion of Honor in Les Loges, for which the distinguished services of her father have qualified her.

The same matter-of-fact tolerance exists not only with regard to Negroes but also for all the other numerous races and religions represented in the French Empire. The conception that anything in the political and social field should be inaccessible, "restricted" in any sense, would only a short time ago have been utterly inconceivable to a Frenchman. In France "liberté, egalité, fraternité" were in the racial field more than a mere slogan or constitutional by-law. That is why of all the doctrines of the Nazi New Order, none has found less response among the average Frenchman than that of discrimination against individual races; and no doctrine will more rapidly disappear once the day comes when the French people have won back their freedom of action. To be sure, all this refers only to the French citizen. The equality which French society willingly concedes to the colored Frenchman, Eboué—that same equality it has hitherto denied to the "natives" from its colonies, who have not yet been given the enjoyment of full French civic rights because of alleged political immaturity.

Governor Eboué, too, considers himself the representative of the French national idea in Free French Africa and not the representative of the natives. Despite all his sympathy and understanding, he will safeguard the French and not the native rights in a conflict of interests. From the appointment of a Governor-General whose pigment happens to be the same as that of the native population, it is still a long way to the recognition of the natives' right for free self-determination and the renunciation of any interference in their domestic affairs. But it is certainly the first step in a direction which must be followed. In the light of the experiences which the Allies have had with the Malayan and Burmese "rebels," the fact that Free French Africa is being defended by a Negro in the name of France has a significance that far surpasses this individual case. If this fact really represents the position of the Free French Government in regards to the colonies and is a token that the Negroes will be given an opportunity to shape their own destiny after this war, then Eboué will be able to call upon the entire population to repel the Vichy invaders. He will have behind him not another dark Fifth Column but ferocious warriors inspired by the thought that the freedom for which they are fighting is their own.

—Translated by Heinz and Ruth Norden

A FREE WORLD CHECK LIST of BOOKS

TEN YEARS, THE WORLD ON THE WAY TO WAR, 1930-1940, *by Dwight E. Lee. xviii* + 444 *pages. Houghton Mifflin;* $3.75

In recent years we have had a great outpouring from the press of personalized accounts written by foreign correspondents on the background of the war. There has not been, however, any attempt to survey and chronicle the events of the past ten years in a dispassionate and scholarly fashion suitable for the use of the general reader. This need, however, has now been filled, and quite ably, by Professor Lee of the Department of History and International Relations of Clark University. Emphasizing narrative rather than critical interpretation, the author provides a first-rate running account of the course of European international politics from the half-forgotten period of Briand's plan for European union to the fall of France a decade later. The book would have been slightly more useful had certain main events and trends been highlighted in some form or other, but this is a difficult task at best, especially so when one attempts to analyze and chronicle the baffling complex of events which characterized the immediate post-war period. All in all, this is a most useful book to expert and intelligent layman alike.

TODAY WE ARE BROTHERS, by Leo Lania. 344 *pages. Houghton Mifflin;* $3.50.

Like Ulysses, Mr. Lania has known men and cities. He has chosen to write no confessional, but rather "to illuminate an entire epoch through one man's life." Even for the reader who has never left America, this purpose is admirably fulfilled. Was there a sort of internationalism about the types of men and women at large in the 1920's and '30's, or does Mr. Lania give this effect by his grasp of universals? One has known all of these citizens of Vienna and Berlin and Budapest, right here. Some of Mr. Lania's characterizations are little masterpieces of compressed judgment; and always they are illuminated by the gentle humor of one who smilingly understands human frailty.

It may seem paradoxical to describe as mellow a book of anecdotes taking place in a maelstrom. Yet mellow Mr. Lania's book is, in the best human sense, and most inspiriting. He has seen the world he knew disintegrate before his very eyes; and he is unafraid.

THE LAST TIME I SAW PARIS, by Elliot Paul. 421 *pages. Random;* $2.75

It was no accident that led Mr. Paul to obtain from Messrs. Kern and Hammerstein the name of their vastly popular song as a title for his book. The book, like the wistful ditty, quietly assaults the feelings through evoking the more familiar and picturesque aspects of a great city beloved of all civilized men.

Mr. Paul has taken the easiest way, both morally and artistically. His field of observation is confined chiefly to the bar-rooms and the bagnios, the inhabitants of which he finds uniquely intriguing. But such droll bits of flotsam as Mr. Paul assembles can be found in similar haunts anywhere in the world. They are not indigenous to Paris alone, and they do not belong in a book that tries to isolate her special quality. To suggest, as Mr. Paul somehow manages to do, that everybody in Paris was either funnily good or fascinatingly wicked is the sheerest exploitation of popular error.

Perhaps the author chose to repeat the stereotyped picture of the city he loves lest American readers, brought up on "La Vie Boheme" and "Trilby," should refuse to accept a less sentimental one. There are passages in the book which show that he is not always the victim of his own romanticism. One wishes there were more of these. One wishes, in fact, that Mr. Paul had selected for his characters fewer genial drabs and lovable nonentities and more men and women who would have exemplified

Paris in her vanished role as the City of Light, the focus of European culture, the legitimate heir to the civilization of the ancient Greeks. Had he done that, Mr. Paul might not have produced a best-seller, but he might have written a memorable threnody on the passing of a great tradition.

THE FAILURE OF PEACE, THE SEARCH FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR, by Kent Forster. vi + 159 pages. American Council on Public Affairs; $2.50

In these days when public opinion here and abroad is becoming more and more concerned about the necessity for more detailed official statements of peace aims, it is interesting to look back upon the record of the first World War in this respect. Although there has been a great deal of material published on various aspects of the efforts of the belligerent countries for a negotiated peace, this book represents the first attempt to collate the wartime peace movements into a single volume. As such it is an interesting and valuable account. The author's implicit assumption that a negotiated peace made at any time between 1914 and 1918 would have been preferable to the Peace of Versailles is open to question, yet so convinced is the author on this point that he states specifically that "certain personalities—not more than a score in number all told—were the real obstacle to the search for a negotiated peace during the years 1914-1918."

VIRGIN SPAIN, by Waldo Frank. xxxiii + 323 pages. Duell; $3.50

Mr. Frank's book, first published in 1926, is now reissued to meet the interest in inter-American affairs. One fears that many readers will find the book rather trying. Although distinguished Hispanic scholars and men of letters have testified to the depth of Mr. Frank's penetration into their culture, it is doubtful whether a style that oscillates between Thomas Carlyle and Victor Hugo at their most lurid is an altogether fortunate vehicle for introducing Spain to modern America.

When Mr. Frank writes straight exposition, he often brings forth shrewd insights; but when he hurtles into description or narration, he often does no more than to write at the top of his voice. A style so heavily charged with sensibility ultimately defeats its own ends; the reader is not spellbound by eloquence, but rather deadened by flagellation. On the occasions when he is able to hold his quivering hyperesthesia in check, Mr. Frank can be quite provocative, in his murkily intuitive fashion. But the interpretation of the soul of a country and of a historical period is both more convincing and more useful when it is not so apocalyptic.

WOMEN FOR DEFENSE, by Margaret Culkin Banning, 243 pages. Duel; $2.50

Drawing on a review of their activities during the last twenty-five years, particularly during the last war, Mrs. Banning presents an intelligent analysis of the important task which faces the women of the United States in this war. Her thesis is that the aid of women in production, consumption, and the maintenance of morale is indispensable to an effective war effort on the part of the nation, and she gives significance to this rather obvious thesis by facts and figures which disclose the vital role of women here and abroad.

TOTAL VICTORY, by Stephen King-Hall. 306 pages. Harcourt; $2.00

Commander King-Hall has a right to speak of the manner in which one must deal with Germany. In the years before the war, when he tried valiantly to arouse Britain to the nazi menace, he showed that he understood both the material and psychological factors which were conditioning the German Army. In this volume he again is ahead of his time in considering the essential methods of achieving total victory. He argues that it is not enough to defeat Germany; it is also necessary to change the minds of her people. He offers a lucid and rational plan for waging the type of psychological warfare which may bring this about.

AMERICA'S TRADE EQUALITY POLICY, by Hugh O. Davis. 137 pages. American Council on Public Affairs; $3.00

This is a careful, well-documented study of the most-favored-nation clause, which clause largely owes its evolution to conditions within the United States. This study does not make light reading, but it contains the sort of basic information from original sources that scholars want. Equality of treatment has always been fundamental in American commercial policy. The conditional most-favored-nation clause was originally designed to aid in the removal of discriminations and to promote equality of treatment. But in practical commercial relations it has often led to a policy of discrimination. Hence salvation appears to inhere in the unconditional most-favored-nation policy which Secretary of State Hull has championed for many years. It is significant that the reciprocal trade

program fostered by the Roosevelt Administration is similar in principle and practice also to the commercial policy initiated by Alexander Hamilton and supported by Washington, whose Farewell Address urged Americans neither to seek nor to grant special favors, but to promote trade by fair and just methods through equality of treatment.

SEVEN FOR CORDELIA, by Catherine Macdonald Maclean. 270 pages. Macmillan; $2.50

Humorous sketches about children evacuated from the Glasgow slums to a Highland farm. Genial reading for those whose tongues are supple enough to cope with the heavy Scots burr of the dialogue.

FLIGHT TO FREEDOM, by Barbara Padowicz. 257 pages. Duell; $2.75

Mme. Padowicz, a Polish woman of means and culture, fled with her son from Warsaw at the time of the nazi invasion. This book is the story of her odyssey across the Carpathians into Hungary, through Yugoslavia, Italy, Spain, Portugal—to final freedom across the Atlantic. It is a narrative emblematic of thousands who have been dispossessed and made wanderers on the face of the earth by the present cataclysm. Here is graphically portrayed what war does to the civilian—even the moneyed civilian who can afford an attempt at escape. The story is told with an excellent sense of dramatic effect, yet simply and without apparent artifice. Faced with situations which might have turned the reason of a less stable woman, she brought her son to America with a quiet courage which her good taste as a writer keeps her from ever making melodramatic.

GREAT MEN AND WOMEN OF POLAND, edited by Stephen P. Mizwa. Macmillan; $4.00

This volume, an enterprise suggested to its editor by President MacCracken of Vassar, is an attempt to do for the great men of Poland what Plutarch did for those of the Graeco-Roman world: to present them as human types worthy of study and (in some cases) emulation. The editor and his associates arbitrarily limit themselves to thirty notable figures from one thousand years of Polish history. Here are short scholarly biographies of Copernicus, Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Chopin, Mme. Modjeska, Sienkiewicz, Joseph Conrad, Mme. Curie, Ladislas Reymont, and others. No other single volume treating authoritatively of the Polish great exists. Statesmen and artists loom largest in this Polish Hall of Fame. Mr. Mizwa's compilation will be a convenient reference-book for students, and for those of Polish descent it will serve as a reminder that their national heroes have carried the Polish cause to victory through days fully as dark as the present ones.

THE BRITISH TARIFF MOVEMENT, by Marvin E. Lowe. 133 pages. American Council on Public Affairs; $2.50

This is a good brief account of the British movement for protection from 1910 to the tariff of 1931-32. Well-documented and lucidly written, it will be of considerable use to students of public affairs and to the intelligent layman as well. The author designed it to be a case-study in economic nationalism, and he has succeeded in portraying with great clarity the men, their motives, and their techniques. The expert may complain that the book suffers from over-compression, that it contains too much narrative and not enough fundamental analysis, but the account was not directed to the expert in commercial policy but to the layman. Viewed in this light, it is a wholly satisfactory performance.

DEADLINE, by Pierre Lazareff. 369 pages. Random House; $3.00

Confronted with the debacle of the French Republic, M. Lazareff has written a book about it that is set down without eloquence and put together without selection. The author had achieved a considerable reputation by the time he was thirty-three as editor of *Paris-Soir;* yet he shows small ability to choose those highlights of his experience which will have significance for American readers. Despite its slapdash method, his book has value as a picture of the astounding venality of the French press, and the myopic self-seeking of her politicians. Both appear to have been more corrupt than ours in our muck-raking era; and no French Lincoln Steffens arose to cry out against them.

GUERRILLA WARFARE, by 'Yank' Levy. 120 pages. Penguin; 25¢

A practical treatise on small-unit fighting for home-defense groups. The author, a Canadian lecturer on guerrilla tactics at a Home Guard training-school in England, gives a precise and realistic account of methods, from the days of the American Indians, through the

Arabs of Colonel Lawrence, up to the technique of fighting the Nazi invaders of today.

WHAT AMERICA THINKS. 1496 *pages. What America Thinks, Inc., Chicago;* $7.50

Although it contains several thousand expressions of opinion, this compilation of cartoons and editorials which appeared in the American press during the period from August 1, 1938, (the Munich crisis) to January 1, 1941, (President Roosevelt's speech on all-out aid to Britain), does not present an accurate poll of American thought in that critical time. For the editors of this work have suppressed to a whisper the voice of the pacifists and isolationists, of the native and alien Fascists, and of the dupes and agents of the Axis Powers, which was so loud in the land. The future historian who bases his judgment of the temper of America by the utterances published in these pages will deduce that there was in the United States a militant spirit of antagonism to Hitler and his works, a disgusted impatience with the appeasement policies of English and French statesmen, and an unqualified approval of the bold and uncompromising stand taken by President Roosevelt—and he will be wrong. But the reader of today will be heartened to find that so many of the molders of American thought had the vision to see clearly and truly the issue at stake and the place of America in the struggle that must decide the future of our civilization.

MADAM CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS AND GUESTS, by Helen Hayes Peffer. Illustrations by Helen E. Hokinson. 121 *pages. Macmillan;* $1.75

With gentle raillery Miss Peffer exposes the foibles and defects of the club activities of American women but she indicates nonetheless the tremendous potentialities of what may at first glance seem a trivial pastime. One gathers from this ironical little book that the most liberated and the most influential women of the world have voluntarily bound themselves to the difficult duty of acquiring knowledge. The next step, the intelligent utilization of this knowledge in the interest of social betterment, is not far off.

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO, by I. A. Richards. 218 *pages. Norton;* $2.50

Mr. Richards' version of this immortal book in Basic English is the singularly happy result of an inspiration. At this time, when the minds of men are turned to thoughts of a better world, it is well to have a simple statement of the most profound and provocative discussion of human relations ever written. None can miss the modern implications of the questions discussed by Socrates; nor is it difficult to see the application of his radiant conclusions to the problems of our time. Mr. Richards has presented not only the basic terms but the basic ideas of our civilization.

ATHENE PALACE, by R. G. Waldeck. 358 *pages. McBride;* $2.75

Countess Waldeck was in Bucharest during the rise to power of the Iron Guards at the close of Carol's reign; she watched the Nazis penetrate Rumania, and she has put it all into a curiously compelling book. She possesses in the highest degree the gifts of her sex for responding to mood and atmosphere, and for observing the pretences of men with witty enmity. Nor must her book be thought of as frivolous. Behind the glitter and the perfume of her style, Countess Waldeck hides a shrewd gift of appraisal. Cynical, as the courtier always must be, she is taken in by none of the showmanship of the New Order. Somehow, she manages the difficult feat of writing on great issues in a manner that is amusing without being trivial.

JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN AND THE THEORY OF IMPERIALISM, by William L. Strauss. American Council on Public Affairs; $2.50

Students of nineteenth century imperialism have come a long way. As they have subjected that highly complex phenomenon to careful and objective scrutiny, most of them have progressively discarded the abstract and vastly oversimplified Marxist explanation which was content to interpret imperialism as the final and inevitable stage of capitalism. They now give much greater and proper emphasis to non-economic factors, and they do not hesitate even to study the influence of powerful individual personalities upon the movement. This little book is of the latter class in that it attempts to examine the influence of Joseph Chamberlain upon the British imperialism of his time. It is

PATENTS AND TRADE MARKS

Patent and profit by your inventions. Protect your most valuable assets. Write Lester L. Sargent, Registered Patent Attorney, 1115 K St., Washington, D. C.

well-balanced in interpretation, and it will be distinctly useful to many people.

DAWN BREAKS, by F. C. Weiskopf.
291 *pages. Duell;* $2.50
THE COMMANDOS, by Elliott Arnold
300 *pages. Duell;* $2.50

"Dawn Breaks" is a tale of sabotage and guerrilla warfare, by a well-known Czech novelist. "The Commandos" is a story about those forces in Norway, by a feature writer on a New York newspaper. Neither is a particularly good novel. Mr. Weiskopf's guerrilla story has more in its favor, however. It is apparent that the author writes with affection of a people he understands; the book is true. One also accepts his heroes, the little people getting back at the nazi invader, fighting for their liberty; their attitude is our own attitude. Moreover, the style and observation are fresh and direct; this is no symbolic masque of good and evil, like "The Moon is Down." Still, the book fails to please. And that is because, judged on the exacting level of literature, it is not a vividly communicated experience. It is, however, honest and genuine; and the fact that some dishonest and false books are more readable should not blind us to the fact that honesty and genuineness are qualities to be sought after.

Mr. Arnold's "The Commandos" is one of the dishonest and false books, but it is not more readable. The author vouches for the authenticity of his details, which he obtained from refugees. He did not obtain from them, nor from himself, the inner veracity which makes a novel glow—which is so apparent in "Dawn Breaks." The love-affair which is this book's center is now the stalest of monosyllabic clichés. Surely the great issues for which this war is being fought must soon give birth to a novelist who has something more worthy to tell us about war than lechery and dipsomania. When he appears, this novelist will have none of Mr. Arnold's imitativeness of an outworn literary pattern. But he will unite to an eloquent prose and a mastery of narrative, all of Mr. Weiskopf's truth and passion.

NEW SOLDIER'S HANDBOOK. 279 pages. Penguin; 25¢

A reprint of Field Manual 21-100, U. S. Government Printing Office, together with other material, official and unofficial, of value to the new soldier. A serviceable source-book on Army organization and techniques necessary to any civilian who wishes to follow current military operations through the soldier's eyes.

A tribute to "ASIA" from England

"HOW are Westerners who care disinterestedly about Asia to be heard and play their part? That it is possible for white men still to do so is proved by the attitude of complete equality, the knowledge and the beauty of "ASIA." Of all the papers that now come to me from different countries, I know of none so exciting, so hopeful and of so high a standard of writing and culture as this New York publication."

From A LONDON DIARY in "The New Statesman and Nation," March 7, 1942.

The continent of Asia and every island and cove in the Pacific Ocean are now as much your concern as a fire in your neighbor's house. Now, more than ever, you need ASIA Magazine. And now you may have ASIA each month for the next eight months for only $2.

Special Offer to New Readers

8 months of ASIA for $2

(Tear off on this line)

ASIA MAGAZINE
40 East 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

Please put me down for an 8-months' subscription to ASIA. I am enclosing $2.00 in full payment.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

State .....

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

Vice-President *HENRY A. WALLACE* was the principal speaker at the dinner which closed the second Free World Congress. Other addresses were delivered by *WALTER NASH,* Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand; *JAN MASARYK,* Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak Government; *LI YU YING,* one of the founders of the Chinese Republic and President of the Chinese National Academy * * * *H. BISHAM-HOLMES* was foreign correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* and the Australian Associated Press * * * *PHILIP CARR* is a journalist and author of "The English Are Like That" * * * *JULIUS DEUTSCH,* former Austrian Minister of War, was a general in the Loyalist Army during the Spanish Civil War * * * *LAWRENCE K. FRANK* has made extensive studies of personality and culture * * * *OVIDIO GONDI,* formerly editor of *Avance* in Spain, is a Spanish Loyalist *emigré* living in Mexico * * * *FRITZ KAUFMANN* was contributor to French newspapers and editor of *Die Stunde* * * * *GUNNAR LEISTIKOW* is in charge of the Danish Section of the office of the Co-ordinator of Information * * * *ENRIQUE S. DE LOZADA,* formerly chief of the Bolivian Legation in Washington and professor of Political Science at Williams College, is now assistant to the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs * * * *KATHERINE LYON,* contributor to magazines, is specially interested in Norway * * * *HENRY MICHAELIS,* author of books on nazism, was a reporter on the staff of several Berlin newspapers * * * *EGON F. RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER,* former member of the League of Nations secretariat, is professor of International Affairs at the American University * * * *RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE,* psychiatrist and author of "Psychoanalytic Method," was professor at the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Paris * * * *STANLEY YOUNG,* one of the editors of Harcourt Brace, is a playwright and author of "Robin Landing," "Brothers in the Dark," and other books of verse and fiction * * * *CARL ZUCKMAYER* is an Austrian playwright and author of "No More Summer in Austria" * * *

•

Due to lack of space occasioned by the publication of the addresses given at the Free World dinner, we have been obliged to omit from this issue the Round Table, Woman's Stake in the War, and Mr. Dolivet's second article in the series, Planning for the Future, as well as the monthly correspondence by the Underground Reporter. These will appear in the July issue of the magazine.

Books of Lasting Value

I. The Dictionary of Philosophy

Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES $6.00

An invaluable reference book for the student of human cultural development, embracing all major schools and theories of philosophy, philosophy of law, religious philosophy, logic, epistemology, ethics, metaphysics, Chinese, Jewish and Hindu philosophy.

II. Sociology of Law

By GEORGES GURVITCH $3.75

With a Preface by Roscoe Pound

The first complete study of the problems of the sociology of law in all its aspects.

III. Theism and Cosmology

By JOHN LAIRD $3.50

The Gifford Lectures given by the eminent British philosopher.

IV. The Conquest of Bacteria

By F. SHERWOOD TAYLOR $2.00

From Salvarsan to Sulphapyridine

A brilliant account of the Knights of Medicine in their struggle with the terror of human disease. An authentic story of chemotherapy. With a foreword by Henry E. Sigerist.

V. God Is My Fuehrer

By Pastor MARTIN NIEMOELLER $2.75

Being his last 28 sermons. With a preface by Thomas Mann.

VI. From Copernicus to Einstein

By HANS REICHENBACH $2.00

A simple but scientific history of the ideas and discoveries that have led to the formulation of the theory of relativity.

VII. The Parents and Teachers Dictionary

By S. JOHNSON $3.00

A dictionary that gives the true meaning of words in a manner understandable to the child from 6 to 16. The definitions are in most cases given by examples within compass of the child's knowledge. A book for school and home, the standard book for the parent.

VIII. The Petroleum Encyclopedia

Revised edition by SYLVAIN PIRSON $10.00

A convenient reference volume for the researcher, the teacher and the oil man.

THE JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS
A Quarterly $4.00

THE NERVOUS CHILD
A Quarterly $4.00

PHILOSOPHIC ABSTRACTS
A Quarterly $4.00

D. D. Runes, *Editor*
R. B. Winn, *Manag. Editor*

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
15 East 40th Street, New York City

Coming

IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

Louis Fischer in India *The Nation's* chief European correspondent and author of "Men and Politics" and "Dawn of Victory," is off to the front again. This time his destination is India. During his three-months' stay Mr. Fischer plans to interview outstanding Indian leaders —Nehru, Gandhi, and others. In his on-the-spot reports he will analyze Indian strategy and politics as the Nazi and Japanese drives head for a junction in India. He will also keep a close watch on Anglo-Indian relations, perhaps the most crucial problem of the coming months.

Latin American Arsenal In a series of articles on America South, Dr. Hugo Fernandez Artucio discusses the strategic necessity of developing Latin American products to offset the loss of essential war materials through the Japanese successes in the Pacific. He shows how many of these materials are available in this hemisphere and points to the steps America must take politically, militarily, and economically—to protect these resources against the Axis menace and insure their flow in ever-increasing quantities to the United States and the United Nations.

Keep Them Out! *The Nation* also announces a series of articles about the defeatists and obstructionists who are working overtime to capture Congressional seats in the November elections. Among the candidates whose records will be examined are C. Wayland Brooks (R., Ill.), Stephen A. Day (R., Ill.), Hamilton Fish (R., N. Y.), Jacob Thorkelson (R., Mont.), Gerald B. Winrod (Kansas), Martin L. Sweeney (D., Ohio), William B. Barry (D., N. Y.). Read these documented articles. They will reveal many new facts as well as the voting records, affiliations, and public utterances of men about whom all good defenders of democracy must say—Keep Them Out!

Regular Features In addition to these features and others still in the planning, you will enjoy *The Nation's* regular weekly departments: editorial highlights on the week's news—ace reporting from the capital by *The Nation's* Washington correspondent—survey of the financial and economic week—critical comments on books—art—drama—music—films. Make the acquaintance of these regular departments in *The Nation*—America's leading liberal weekly since 1865.

TRIAL OFFER

FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

13 WEEKS FOR $1

Regularly $5.00 a year

The Nation, 55 Fifth Ave., New York

I want to take advantage of your introductory offer to new readers. Please send *The Nation* to me for the next 13 weeks. I enclose $1.00.

Name .....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

FW6